

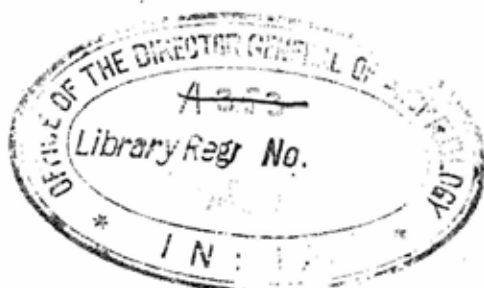
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THE JOURNAL OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY

APRIL 1919

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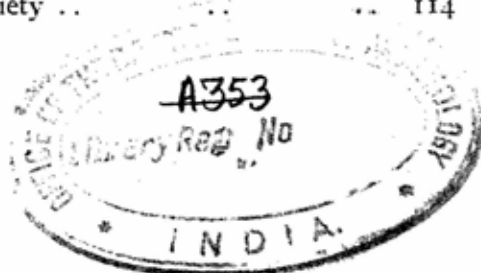
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LACQUER WARE INDUSTRY OF BURMA.*

We have taken lacquer work as the industry for special treatment in this year's Art Exhibition, and the present lecture will, I trust, be of some use in explaining the exhibits. Burmese lacquer ware is a very interesting product, the result of several centuries of development, and the number of craftsmen engaged in its manufacture is greater than is usually supposed: in fact the industry ranks as one of the more important of the indigenous handicrafts. Production is more or less localised in a few areas, but the total number of whole time workers on lacquer wares is about 7,000, while many more people are engaged, generally as a subsidiary occupation, in the production of the bamboo frameworks and other parts to which the lacquer workers apply their material.

THITSI, THE MATERIAL USED IN LACQUER WARE.

Before describing the construction and design of lacquer wares I propose to spend a short while on a consideration of the material used. For there is a good deal of misconception as to this material and one finds writers mentioning lac and lacquer wares in the same sentence, as if lac were the material used in the production of lacquer. Now undoubtedly lac and lacquer have a connection etymologically, but the term lacquer is applicable to a certain type of ware produced in the area stretching from Japan on the East to Burma on the West. Lac is a substance of animal origin, used in the manufacture of varnishes, while the material used in the manufacture of lacquer wares is of vegetable origin and except in their shiny surfaces lac wares and lacquer wares have nothing in common.

The material used in the production of the shiny surface of lacquered wares is procured from more than one plant. The Japanese obtain their material from the sumach (*Rhus vernicifera*), and the Burmans theirs from the *thitsi* tree (*melanorrhoea usitata*). In both cases the material is obtained by making incisions in the bark of the tree, whence there issues a greyish sticky liquid which hardens on exposure to a jet black solid. The composition of the Japanese and Burmese materials is similar consisting, in the case of *thitsi*, of about 85 per cent. of urushic acid, the balance being diastatic matter, oils and gums. Urushic acid, by the way, derives its name from "urushi," the Japanese word for lacquer. Hardening takes place by the action of the diastatic matter on the urushic acid, and unlike varnishes lacquer ware needs moisture when drying and sets better in the dark; in fact it will not set properly in direct sunlight, while a temperature above 120 degrees Fahr. is bad for it.

The *thitsi* tree is a fine upstanding tree found particularly in the drier forests of the province up to 3,500 feet. The timber is a very beautiful dark red with yellowish streaks, hard and durable and takes a good polish. With age the colour acquires a deeper tone and the wood

* Delivered at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition 21st January, 1919. See on the same subject Vol. II, pt II, p. 184—Editor.

is very suitable for high class furniture. It is however with the lacquer material that we are concerned, this is known as *thitsi*. In a monograph on the tree prepared by the Forest Department, (Indian Forest Records Vol. VI, Part III) Mr. Blandford is quoted as follows:—

“Method of Tapping.—The usual method of tapping is to make two deep notches to form a V. The notches are eight to ten inches long, and about two inches deep. At the base of the V, small bamboo cups are placed, with an edge stuck into a small horizontal cut just at the base of the V, in such a way that the oil which exudes from the V-shaped notch flows into the cup. The oil can only be collected in fairly dry weather, as when it rains the oil is either washed away or is too diluted in the cups to be of any use. If only a little rain water is mixed with the *thitsi*, it becomes of a reddish colour. The number of cups that can be put on one tree depends on the size of the tree, and whether the tree is to be tapped for a large temporary outturn or for a regular yearly outturn. It is usual to have notches, one above the other, as high as a man can reach. About four or five can be made in a slanting direction, one above the other. Once the tree has been tapped in any one place, it must be left at least four, if not five, years to allow the original notches to heal over completely before being tapped again.

“It thus follows that, if a line of notches is made each year and the tree is big enough to allow of five lines being made, the tree can be tapped every year; for, as soon as the total available surface has been tapped, the old blazes will have healed up completely and notching can be continued. The notching appears to have no effect on the life of a tree, and trees that are covered with scars appear to be as healthy as those which have not been tapped. Trees of all sizes can be tapped, but of course—only trees of some size (about six feet breast-girth) can be tapped every year for the reasons specified above.”

The bulk of the present Burma supplies come from Katha and the Shan States and it is estimated that the total output is about 200 tons a year. Bad methods of tapping threaten the future supplies, and the question of preserving the tree and regulating tapping is under consideration. At present the right to tap trees is subject to forest licences, but there is no attempt to ensure scientific and safe methods.

DEVELOPMENT OF LACQUER WARE

To a forest dweller the value of *thitsi* as a material would soon become evident, and probably *thitsi* was first used as a waterproofing on basket ware. The material is so used wherever the tree is found, and an example of this simple application of *thitsi* is shewn among the exhibits.

The next step was the production of a smooth surface. Probably this was first obtained on basket ware by the addition of several coats of the *thitsi*. This would fill up the interstices and give a coating more or less shiny but still showing the nature of the framework. From this to a really smooth surface is a fairly long step. The method by which ordinary simple lacquer ware, done on coarse basket work, is given a smooth shiny surface is as follows. The basket is first of all treated with a mix-

ture of *thitsi* and clay which fills in the larger interstices without using up very much *thitsi*. This, after hardening, is smoothed and a second coating is applied which is smoothed again. The second coating is generally of a finer material made by mixing *thitsi* with ash as a diluent, the object being to obtain a smooth surface with as little expenditure of *thitsi* as possible. The finer the work the finer is the powdered ash used; in high class work the ash is obtained from cow-dung, paddy husk, or bones. This ash in fact also seems to shorten the period of setting, and as each coat has to set before another can be applied quick setting is of some importance. The rest of the process is purely one of smoothing and coating with *thitsi* turn and turn about. As the article comes near a finish the smoothing is more carefully done. Nature provides a suitable "sand paper" in the leaf of the *dahat* tree, or in some cases the object is polished with paddy husk and water, while for the very finest work the fossil wood commonly found in the dry zone is powdered and used, this latter generally on the finer circular wares which can be turned on the primitive lathe which you will see in use in the balcony. The polishing agent varies with the quality of finish and the availability of materials.

Often part of the article is coloured a brilliant red by painting it with a mixture of *hinhapada* and *thitsi*. *Hinhapada* is obtained from China and is mercuric sulphide or cinnabar; it is exported from China to Europe as Chinese vermilion. Mixed with a small amount of *thitsi* and *shansi* (an oil from the Shan States)¹ and applied to lacquer wares its brilliant red colour shows in spite of the darkening of the *thitsi*, though in course of time it does tone somewhat and a very beautiful colour it is too.

Generally the framework is of bamboo as described, but occasionally, as in the case of boxes, the craftsmen use wood. This naturally gives a smooth surface more readily and soft woods to which *thitsi* will adhere are preferred, such woods as "Baing" (*Tetrameles nudiflora*) and "didu" (*Bombax insigne*).

This is the method of manufacture of the ordinary simple lacquer wares of the Province. The main centres of production are at present Maungdaung and Kyaukka in the Lower Chindwin district.

"PAGAN WARE," ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.

But in the lacquer ware usually known as "Pagan" ware we have a further development of the industry and a development of a very interesting kind. The ornamented ware has a distinctive name in Burmese and is known as "yun" work. In searching for the origin of this particular line of development one was naturally attracted to the word "yun" which has in itself no meaning in Burmese that would explain its application to the craft. It seemed possible that the word might supply a clue, for technical terms in trades are very conservative. As I pointed out last year in dealing with pottery Talaing words are used in naming the tools used by the potters of Twante although the Talaing language is unknown to the present workers. The British Consul in Yunnan very kindly sent me a note on the lacquer ware of that Province, the terms used however give no clue to the word "yun." I do not suggest that

the question could be determined by etymological research alone for attempts at etymology may lead one very far astray as is shown in a note from Siam. Enquiries made in Bangkok elicited the following suggestion: The Burmese term used here is not quite the same as though similar to "yun" being "kun" with "itt" invariably added, thus "kun itt." The same word is used for lacquer ware produced by a process similar to inlaying by the people of Yunnan and means in Northern Chinese, which is also the language of Yunnan, "kun" a decorated border and "itt" first class excellent. This theory gives the word a Chinese origin. The theory connecting "yun" with "kun itt" which in Burmese of course simply means a "betel box" is I think a rather interesting example of forced etymology.

As a matter of fact the suggestions given by the Pagan lacquer workers and the lacquer workers of the Shan States agree with the general opinion obtained from Siam that the word is merely the Shan name of the Laos, and indicates that the craft had its origin among those people.

Laikkha in the Southern Shan States is at present a centre of this ornamental lacquer ware industry, and from Mr. Kingsley, assistant superintendent, Loilem, I have received the following interesting story which he got from the *Amatgyi* of Laikkha.

"About 300 years ago there lived in Laikkha in the Southern Shan States a *myosa* named Hkun Hsan Myatno. This *myosa* had two sons Sao Shwe San and Sao Neyya serving under Anauk-hpetlun Mindaya, King of Ava. The brothers were attached to the forces sent to extend the Burmese Kingdom in the direction of Linzin and Chengmai in Siam, and when the victorious forces returned to Ava, Sao Shwe San, having married, remained behind in Linzin. Later, on the death of his father, Sao Shwe San succeeded him, and returned to Laikkha. His brother succeeded him, but when Sao Neyya died, there being no one to succeed, a regency was appointed which managed affairs for some 13 years. However the lack of a proper ruler caused discontent and so the son of Sao Shwe San by his Siamese wife was invited to come from Linzin and accept the throne. He brought with him several of his relatives and 10 families of his tribe, the Yunkalaung, and these people settled at Laikkha. Under his direction they erected a pagoda and the ornamental work on it, including figures of nats and elephants, copied from typical Yunkalaung designs, is to be seen to this day. Before this time there was no lacquer work done at Laikkha and it is believed the Yunkalaung brought the craft to Laikkha."

I am indebted to U Tin, S. D. O., Pagan, for the following note.

"The industry was brought from the Yun State to Thaton and thence reached Pagan in 1058 A.D. The tube of lacquer work exhibited is dated 1274 A.D., and was discovered in the Mingala Pagoda at Pagan." The reference is to the yellow circular box of teak which has been painted with thitsi and yellow ochre.

Sayadaw U Sagaya of Pagan to whom, with U Tin, I am indebted for much of the collection of old lacquer ware from Pagan, says that

a lacquer box from the Yun kingdom ornamented with designs from the Enaung Zat was presented to Shwebo Min who presented it to his younger sister. He also ordered the craftsmen at Pagan to produce similar boxes. Shwebo Min came to the throne in 1843.

The Pagan lacquer workers themselves tell a somewhat similar story of the presentation of wares from Yun country to the Burmese King and of their receipt of an order to reproduce the wares. They antedate it somewhat by attributing the order to the sister of Naungdawgyi. This would be about 70 years earlier.

The Sayadaw rather scouts the idea of this antedating of the story. He says "This instance is like the case of two racing ponies trying hard to overtake and beat each other, or like two persons trying to excel in the art of conversing. As for instance when two students meet, one asks the other what the latter is learning, and on hearing that he is learning about the rat the first speaker reflects, and then being anxious to show his superiority, says that he is learning about the cat; thus showing his superior intelligence for the cat is universally known to be a terror to the rat." This delightful little example, given in all seriousness, takes one back to the old logic chopping days when learned doctors discussed scientific questions such as "Whether angels in moving from place to place, pass through the intermediate space" and settled the problem by tricks of words or by an appeal to force. However both these stories presuppose the existence of a lacquer ware industry already established at Pagan.

Whether the industry first reached Pagan from Thaton at that important crisis in Burmese industrial progress when Anawrata, having sacked Thaton, brought away the workers in stone and other craftsmen to build his capital near Pagan, or whether the industry came to Pagan from the Shan States direct, there seems little doubt that Laikkha work and Pagan work have a common origin. Indeed from the time of Anawrata onwards, and possibly before, there was a pretty constant exchange of intercourse, friendly and otherwise, between the Shan States and Upper Burma; and it may be taken for granted that wares produced in Laikkha would find their way to Pagan and vice versa.

If one can argue from design it would seem that Laikkha can claim to have an older industry than Pagan. If you examine the old wares exhibited you will note that round the bottom edge of many of the Laikkha wares there is a rough ornamental pattern of vertical lines, not produced by colour but merely the result of the pattern of basket weaving to which the lacquer has been applied. In the old Pagan ware the same motive is produced by lines of colour. It is only a small point but it seems to indicate that the Laikkha design is older and thus tends to confirm the general idea that the work has come from the Shan States.

METHOD OF PRODUCTION OF MODERN PAGAN WARE.

The characteristic of the "yun" work is that a pattern is worked on to the lacquer surface by a method of successive incisions filled with colouring matter. The process has reached its highest development in

Pagan and a description of the method by which the highest grades of Pagan ware are produced will perhaps be of interest.

We will take for our example a cup. After a series of coatings has brought the surface up to the condition of the plain lacquered ware already described, the cup is handed to a craftsman skilled in "yun" work. He takes the cup and proceeds to outline his figures by making a series of scratches with a sharp pointed iron style. The figures drawn are more or less conventionalised, but the skill exhibited is very considerable. One cannot but admire the neat way in which a design is started on a circular surface such as a cup and the draughtsman, without making any apparent calculations or guide marks, starts from one point and works round till he arrives again at the starting point, and yet, when the design is completed, it would be impossible to say where the design started, so accurately has the spacing been done. If you want evidence of the skill required to do this successfully try it for yourselves and you see how hard it is. The ease with which the draughtsman proceeds and the rapidity with which he works are well worth some observation. The starting point for a figure is apparently the eye. The scratches having been made a mixture of *hinthapada* and *thitsi* and *shansi* is rubbed over the surface of the cup filling the scratches with colour. When this has set the cup is again put on the lathe and polished, all colour being removed from the surface except that which fills the scratches, and we then have the outlines left in red on a black surface. A new series of scratches is made and the process is repeated. To obtain yellow lines they use orpiment as their pigment, to obtain green they mix together orpiment and indigo and for orange they use realgar. With these four pigments, *hinthapada*, orpiment, realgar and indigo, the patterns are produced, each different shade being worked in by a separate series of scratches, so that in the fine work the article is alternately scratched and polished a large number of times. Now each application of *thitsi* and each coating of colour takes some four or five days to set. This setting is carried out in cellars, for as I have already stated damp and darkness aid in the setting of *thitsi*. In a good piece of work in which the separate processes may be as many as 26, the time between start and finish is often as much as six months. This explains the delay which occurs between the giving of an order and the delivering of an article and while purchasers may fret at this delay and blame the craftsman they can only secure a shortening of the time by accepting inferior work. Visitors sometimes do not understand the prices quoted by the craftsmen for wares, two boxes of apparently about the same size varying by 300 per cent. in price. The explanation lies in the amount of work and the number of coatings of colour put on; for apart from the actual quantity of labour the time between start and completion of the work is an important factor. In the case of a good piece of work the mean time between the expenditure of labour and the completion of the work is three months and for this period the craftsman has to await payment for his labour; hence he must charge a greater rate for the labour than for similar labour which can earn a return in a shorter period. I do not

claim for it that this fine work is the most attractive, personally I think that less ornament rather than more ornament is desirable, but the difference in price is certainly justified by the greater length of time and the greater amount of labour spent on the fine work.

At Pagan there has been a tendency to produce a very light ware, and consequently the best work in the manufacture of modern betel boxes or bowls has been done on finer framework than in the old ware. The difference is purely one of the framework, which is made of very fine woven bamboo, or in the case of the very thinnest articles, the warp is of bamboo and the woof of hair, generally horse hair. The lightness of the ware is an attraction in its way, and it exhibits the remarkable flexibility of the lacquer, but I would warn visitors that there is a limit to the flexibility and you cannot crush the material as you would a Panama hat. I have one or two good specimens of the ware, but I always prefer to show off this flexibility myself rather than let visitors to whom I am showing it handle my property. If you crack the cup or whatever you are handling it cannot be repaired.

DESIGNS.

We will now return for a while to the question of design in "yun" work. The collection exhibited includes specimens of old work, as old that is to say as could be obtained. It is the fact that the articles have been made for use, and with use have perished, that makes any historical treatment of the design so difficult. The older wares include specimens picked up in Pagan and others received from Laikkha and from Kado near Moulmein. But design is very conservative, and we can also use the articles recently made to trace the origin of the design.

You will see a large sheet of drawings illustrating some of the more common designs. The simple ones were usually executed in yellow on red, and I think we may assume that the first designs were executed either by red scratches on black or by yellow marks made on a surface which had been painted red. As regards the pattern, the very early ones obviously have developed from attempts to reproduce the pattern of basket work. We can I think follow the line of development. First the simple basket ware, then the basket ware with its rough surface smeared with *thitsi* for purely utilitarian purpose, then the development of the smooth polished surface which in its production led to smoother weaving of the basket work to simplify the production of a smooth polish. Then as the craftsman added ornament he naturally at first tended to get back to basket work and weaving designs, produced now, not by the roughness of the surface, but by lines in colour.

The next development seems to have been the breaking up of the weaving patterns into panels; while dots replaced the more definite basket pattern. Here we find a divergence in design, either the lines of panels themselves became more and more wavy finally taking to themselves a more or less floral design, or small rosettes and other ornaments were introduced into the panels. As a further extension of this second line of development the plans were filled with representations of the signs of the

zodiac, they became more and more geometrical, and the spaces between the panels were filled with scroll work and flowers.

A peculiar line of development has been that which has resulted in what I might call the nightmare pattern, from a basket pattern to one in which the regular basket work pattern becomes a mass of small swirls which have gradually changed to figures becoming more and more complicated until you have the absolute nightmare pattern of some of the pieces exhibited.

A more sober line of development is indicated in some of the examples which lead up to the present day Pagan ware. One fine example is the large box from Pagan, done in plain red lines on a black ground. Here we have figures simply drawn, and one can only regret that this fine box has been so damaged. The ages of these older specimens are, by the bye, only approximate and are based on the statement of the number of generations which the boxes have been in the owner's family, but they are more or less correct. The box in question is 100 years old. It may be regarded as an ancestor of the modern much figured work, which would be developed from it, first by the introduction of a variety of colours, and several successive treatments, and then by a diminution of scale and crowding together of the figures. One's own predilections are in favour of the earlier design with its greater simplicity. The figures in the design seem to be rather Shan in type and distinctly resemble the figures on the old Laikkha work. You will notice the beautiful tone which some of the old lacquer wares have taken; probably after a hundred years or so the lacquer ware now on sale will have a similar tone. A small betel box in a remarkably good state of preservation lent by Sayadaw U Sagaya and said to be 80 years old is well worth attention. The figures round the sides are the 12 signs of the Zodiac and on top are the eight signs for the planets governing the days of the week. You will remember that in Burmese astrology, Wednesday is favoured with two planets.

There is a small collection of old work from Laikkha and some modern work. The old work is very similar to the old work from Pagan, the signs of the zodiac, the nightmare pattern, and the simple single colour figure design are all represented. A collection of four cups shows the typical modern patterns at Laikkha, while as a still later development there is a tray with a chintre figure in silver lines on a basket ground. The colour, by the bye, in this Laikkha work is produced by the use of silver dust, rubbed in as in the case of the other colours. The golden effect is obtained by finishing the ware with a coating of kanyin oil which gives a yellow varnish on the silver. On the whole, as far as skill in treatment of "yun" work is concerned, the Laikkha ware has apparently deteriorated.

SIAMESE AND YUNNANESE WORK.

The small collection from Siam has been obtained by the kindness of the British Consul at Chiengmai. All the Siamese ware is made near Chiengmai by the Laos, the people whom the Shans call Yun. The pat-

tern is produced in the same way as at Laikkha and Pagan, but the floral design is different. One cannot but admire the high finish of the simple black goglet, though the best of the Kyaukka ware is quite equal to it in quality.

Talking of Siam and the collection of lacquer ware from that country brings one to the next form of lacquer ware, that in which the pattern is not produced by scratches but by painting the surface with colour. You will notice that while the pattern is in most cases produced by the process known technically in Burma as "yun" work this is not always the case. The same remark applies to some of the Laikkha ware; but perhaps the most interesting example is the collection from Yawngghwe in the Southern Shan States which has a pattern that seems to be a local speciality, a simple but very effective design in red and black. Two specimens of Yunnanese work are known, these very closely resemble Japanese work in their design and have little relationship to Burma patterns.

GILT LACQUER WARE.

In real gold leaf work this covering of a surface rather than the filling in of scratches is more common. And in passing one may remark that in practically all Burmese gilding work *thitsi* is used as the medium for sticking the gold leaf to the article which is to be gilded.

Kengtung in the Southern Shan States has a particular type of lacquer ware which is represented by a small collection kindly sent in by Mr. Grose. The chief article of manufacture in Kengtung, apart from plain wares, is a peculiar type of basket ware bowl, covered with lacquer, and gilded. Some of these have a smooth surface, some have an embossed surface. Of the latter I shall speak later. Curiously enough, although Kengtung is nearer the Lao area, that is to say the area from which the "yun" work originates, the makers of these Kengtung bowls apparently claim to be the descendants of Laikkha people, and to have learned the use of *thitsi* as an ornamental ware from their Laikkha ancestors. At the same time the Kengtung type of bowl is their invention and while Laikkha men produce the Kengtung bowl this is a very modern development and is due to the enthusiasm of the Assistant Superintendent of the Shan States. I think it was Mr. Gahan who first induced the Laikkha people to make "Kengtung" bowls.

The gilt lacquer ware of the Province reached a high degree of excellence at Prome, one Saya Pa, now dead, having been a master of the craft. In consequence gilt lacquer has become associated with the name of Prome town although the work was done in other places and as a matter of fact since the death of Saya Pa the industry has died in Prome. So much can a master craftsman do for the credit of his craft.

The process by which the Burmese workers produce the gilded figure work on lacquer ware is as follows. After the surface has been treated with excessive coats of lacquer until a high degree of polish is obtained, the artist paints in a design with a paint made of orpiment and gum water. When completed and before the *thitsi* is absolutely hard the whole sur-

face is treated with gold leaf. The surface is then allowed to harden in the usual way and is afterwards washed with water. On the surface to which the orpiment paint has been applied the gold washes away leaving a jet black surface and the pattern stands out in black and gold. The pattern that is painted on is therefore a negative of the final design. Often the background is red or brown instead of black, this effect being obtained by mixing *hinhapada* with the final coat of *thitsi* before painting.

The Prome designs are usually rather of the "Willow-pattern" type, surrounded by floral scrolls. A fine example is exhibited. This is a replica of some tables which are at Government House; these tables were much admired by Sir Harcourt Butler and he wished to have more made. The industry at Prome was dead, but careful photographs were taken and the tables were reproduced at Pagan by Saya Khan.

Mandalay has at present a few workers in this particular branch of craft. Every year you will see some of their caskets at the Art Exhibition, this being the particular line in which they excel. But they also make large chests for holding the Buddhist scriptures and such chests from Mandalay, Pagan, Prome and elsewhere will be found all over the country. As a rule the figures are drawn in line in the manner already described and appear therefore in black lines on a gold ground. The old Prome ware of the type associated with the name of Saya Pa is bolder in design and consequently more attractive in many ways than the rather finicky designs from Mandalay. It has been a rather unfortunate general tendency of Burmese art ware during the last twenty years or so that it has forsaken the bold designs of the older masters and has taken rather to crowded detail, very skilfully executed, but lacking the artistic merit of the older work.

The Political Officer, Imphal, has very kindly sent in a collection of Manipuri work. The chief interest in connection with our former subject is the use of *thitsi* on leather, it seems to be a very suitable material for this purpose, and Burman craftsmen might perhaps turn their attention to the use of *thitsi* in this connection.

MOULDED WORK.

We now turn to another form of lacquer ware, the moulded work made with a putty prepared from *thitsi* and ash. I have already mentioned that to fill the interstices in the basket framework the craftsman mixed *thitsi* with other substances. For the finer work the mixture, known as "thayo", is made of *thitsi* and bone of paddy husk ash. This mixture gives a fine plastic material which readily lends itself to manipulation, and it can be applied and made to adhere to plain surfaces, such as the side of boxes, by means of *thitsi*. After a few days it becomes hard and the general appearance is that of polished ebony, and in fact it is in some ways superior to carved wood being less liable to fracture. The craftsman in working this material uses a small moulding board, which he sprinkles with ash much as a pastry cook sprinkles his pastry with flour to prevent its adhering to the board and rolling pin. The putty itself is also constantly sprinkled with ash. The moulding is done

with fingers and a small tool, usually made of horn. With great dexterity he rapidly forms sprays and flowers, a touch with the fingers giving the leaves that curve which renders them lifelike. Each small piece as it is finished is stuck on the box, or whatever surface is to be ornamented, by means of *thitsi*, and after the whole has dried it is generally painted over with *thitsi* to make sure that it adheres properly. In this way, large boxes for manuscripts, the bases of shrines, and other articles, are ornamented. Smaller running patterns are moulded in place instead of on the moulding board. The result is an embossed jet black surface. Generally this is gilded, though speaking for oneself, the ungilt work often seems more attractive. There are standard patterns in the floral work which have generally accepted names. Some small panels of the work are to be found in the exhibit, several of them illustrate the "Yodaya" design which is distinguished, not by the type of foliage, but by the general outline. Another panel shows the *thaminbye* or "running stag" design. The reason for the name may not be very apparent, it is an undulating design and the idea is that this undulating motive represents the path which a stag in flight takes through the jungle. This type of work has a quarter assigned to it in Mandalay, *Sadaiktan* being so called from the "sadaiks" or manuscript chests which are made there, and the trade in these articles is still very considerable. Some of the Kengtung bowls exhibit the same kind of ornament.

As an extension of this craft we have the "*hmansi shwekya*", or glass mosaic work. In this work in addition to "*thayo*" moulding the the articles are ornamented with small pieces of coloured glass or mica set in "*thayo*". For the bases of shrines this type of ornament is common and some of the *tazaungs* of the Shwe Dagon contain fine example of the work. For small articles it is not so attractive, but with large objects at a distance in bright sunlight the work is very effective.

THITSI IN ARCHITECTURE.

In passing I would draw attention to the part which *thitsi* has played in Burmese architecture. I have mentioned the glass mosaic work in which it is an important material, it also takes the place of size in gilding and is the body material for the red paint used in the Mandalay Palace and in many of the other buildings in Burma. The red paint so common still in the *hpoongyi kyaungs* especially those of the Shan States and sometimes seen on pagodas is a mixture of *thitsi* and *hinhapada*. But the best example of lacquer work is in a beautiful *hpoongyi kyaung* known as the Amedaw Kyaung, a few hundred yards south of Myohaung station. The posts and other wooden parts of this beautiful building are treated with black lacquer decorated with a small amount of simple design in gilt leaf. As an example of what can be done with the material it is probably the best that Burma has produced, or rather I should say it was, for it is some four years since I saw it. It was then in a very dilapidated state and unfortunately the Archaeological Department could not find funds to protect it while the trustees were apparently unwilling to allow any part to be removed and kept as an exhibit, and by now

there is probably very little which could be preserved. Once the roof of a timber structure is destroyed Nature soon takes her toll of the rest of the building. Burmese architecture is on the decline, a wealth of new materials ignorantly handled has replaced the simple dignity of the old structures. But if we ever get in Burma an architect able to deal with indigenous art, and to put the present variety of materials to a use in keeping with the traditions of the best of the local craftsmen, he will do well to remember *thitsi* and its possibilities; he will indeed be a poor master of his trade if he fails to find a use for it.

Instances of smaller local uses of *thitsi* are in the making of "kamawasas" and "umbrellas." Some fine example of "kamawasas" will be found in the collection. The writing is done with *thitsi*. The lacquer is applied to silk in this case. In umbrella making *thitsi* is used as waterproofing material.

PROPERTIES OF THITSI. AND THE FUTURE OF THE LACQUER INDUSTRY.

So much for the industry as it stands, what of its future? Before making any attempt to discuss this I should like to say a few words more on the properties of *thitsi*. Some two years ago I asked Mr. Raikes, electrical inspector, to test the electrical properties of *thitsi* putty and he gave this material a good deal of his attention. He found that it had high insulating values, and it seemed possible that it might be useful for the moulding of small switch bases and other electrical apparatus. It takes a long time to set however and while the addition of ferric oxide accelerates hardening, experiments have not gone much further in that direction. Mr. Raikes found that tape dipped in *thitsi* and wound on wires served as a useful insulation, here again there does not seem much room for development except in its use for temporary work locally, the price of *thitsi* is fairly high and *thitsi*-soaked tape is not likely to replace the usual insulating materials. As a paint it gives a fine black finish, and as already noted it is very flexible and therefore not likely to flake off. It is not acted on by strong alkalis or acid and might be useful as a paint for corrugated iron roofs of engine sheds and other similar structures liable to be attacked by acid. Except for such special purposes its price precludes its use.

If the tapping of trees is subjected to regulation as suggested, the price of *thitsi* will probably rise anyhow for a good many years to come. But unless precautions are taken to regulate tapping the supply is liable to decrease, so we may expect some advance in price either way.

That the price does preclude the export of the material is perhaps fortunate. As it is all the material produced is used within the country in the manufacture of finished articles. Were the price such as to secure export orders the effect would be to kill an industry and that certainly would not benefit the Province as a whole.

It does not follow however that changes cannot advantageously be made in the state of the industry. At present lacquered wares are found in practically every Burman household, but there is a tendency in many cases for these wares to be replaced by metal work. If the material used

in the coarser lacquer wares can be deflected to wares of a higher quality or to wares which bring in a greater daily wage to the workers it will all be to the good. At present the value of the imports of lacquered wares to Burma amounts to $\frac{1}{2}$ lakh per year. There is no reason why the Burman workers should not capture all this trade and have a large share in the lacquer ware trade of India as well. All that is needed is some experiment, a certain amount of instruction, and improved organisation; rather much has to be done perhaps, but it is not an impossible proposition.

A. P. MORRIS.

SHIN UTTAMAGYAW AND HIS TAWLA, A NATURE POEM—VI.

This charming though somewhat solemn and psalm-like master-piece is evidently intended to fill in a way the gap left undescribed in the order of the twelve seasons of the Burmese year extending from *Wagaung* to *Tazaungmôn* (August to November) as pointed out in Part III of this article. It opens with a scene in *Tawthalin* (September) when Lord Buddha repairs to the *Gandhamādana* mount for a temporary sojourn. It is said that the season naturally assumes an appropriate aspect both on land and water on this auspicious occasion. The rivers swell almost to overflowing and the ripe palmyra shows its golden tinge. The sun shines with brightness surpassing that of the *Jambūnada* gold, while the *Manjū* tree stands laden with flowers which make it bend towards the ground. In the forest groves the air is diffused with pleasant odours from the blooms of the *Yinmā* growths. All these go to show that the time is in *Tawthalin* (September).

The golden *Gawthazin* that most highly esteemed king-flower of the deep forest realm, scatters its fragrance from high stately trees. This, coupled with the melodious and enchanting songs of birds on the silvery sand of river-banks under the canopy of the sapphire sky, reminds one of the time in *Thadingyut* (October). The *Kyatti* festival is celebrated in *Sarada*, the month of *Tazaungmôn* (November) as *Nakshatra Kyattika* appears in close attendance upon the full-orbed moon.

Next comes in a description of the position of *Nakshatra Sarawun* in relation to the full-orbed moon at her zenith followed by the constellation known as the *pony*. This is the prominent feature in the heavens in the month of *Wagaung* (August). It must be noticed that the structural defect of the poem becomes more obvious here for, if the proper order of the seasons is observed *Wagaung* and not *Tawthalin* should take the first place among the four seasons, for which descriptive accounts are now given. But in the matter of both of phrase and thought the poet gives here a mine of beauty; and the transitions are managed so skilfully that an ordinary reader can scarcely detect the lapses we have pointed out. This is also due to the fact that his poem is rich in elegant and exquisite descriptions of natural scenery, asterisms and flowers characteristic of each successive season. Witness the next scene.

The next as well as the last scene relates to *Tabaung* and *Tagu* (March and April). From a vivid description of the chief phenomena in the firmament and the beauties of land and water the poet dives into abstruse thoughts. Thus apart from his power of scenic transformation he excels all other poets in the matter of a fine intermingling of light and gay-some thoughts with grave and sublime reflections.

It may be noted that Buddha's journey to His father's city covers both the months mentioned above and Nature has not failed to avail

herself of the opportunity thus afforded. In all the beauties connected with these two seasons she joins to adore the Lord who is represented as being bent upon the noble desire to help mankind for their deliverance out of the great ocean of *Samsāra* and for their safe landing at the peaceful shore of *Nirvāna* by means of His golden raft of *Dhamma*.

In this as in the foregoing Verses with the exception of the first the poet begins with a complementary outburst in honour of the Righteous One thus: မြတ်သောဗုဒ္ဓ၊ ထွဋ်မှန်ကုလည်း၊ မြိုင်သောလော၊ ဂန္ဓမာသို့၊ ဒေသစာရော်၊ မြန်းကြသော်လျှင်။ This is an adverbial clause denoting point of time, and it means "when Buddha set out on a journey to the *Gandhamādana* peak."

မြတ်သောဗုဒ္ဓ၊ ထွဋ်မှန်ကုလည်း 'means simply Buddha' မြတ် means "excellent, exalted." သောဗုဒ္ဓ is a Pāli epithet of Buddha meaning "One whose knowledge is underived or self-produced." (Cf. သောဗုဒ္ဓဘာဏ် Self-produced knowledge.) ထွဋ်မှန်ကု also applies to Buddha and it means "The noblest and highest One." ထွဋ် is said to be derived from the Pāli *တူဠ* meaning a pinnacle, the highest point, top or summit. For the meaning of မှန်ကု see Notes on Verse IV. Buddha is here represented as the highest and noblest of the three classes of mankind. (Cf. လူသုံးပါးတို့၏အထွဋ်၊ တမ္ဗတ်ခေါင်ဖျား၊ ဘုရားကိုယ်တော်မြတ်သည်။).

မြိုင်သောလော၊ ဂန္ဓမာသို့။ This means "To the *Gandhamādana* peak or mountain in the mighty forests of *Himavantā* (Himalaya)."

မြိုင် means 'a pleasant grove,' and ဂ or အဂ္ဂ means 'a promontory or headland.' သောလော (Pāli) means 'a rock, hill or mountain.' The whole expression မြိုင်သောလော simply means 'A peak in a pleasant grove,' that is the *Gandhamādana* hill or mountain.

ဂန္ဓမာ for ဂန္ဓမာဒန is the name of one of the five peaks which surround the *Anotatta* or *Anavatatta*, one of the seven great lakes situated in the *Himavantā* forests. The other peaks are *Kelāsa*, *Cittakūta*, *Sudassana*, and *Kālakūta*. The *Gandhamādana* peak contains three wonderful caves, namely the *Kaṇṇikā Guhā*, the *Mani Guhā* and the *Rajata Guhā*, i.e., the golden, the ruby and the silver cave. But they are collectively known by the name of *Nandamū* Caves. At the entrance of the *Mani Guhā* stands the *Mañjūsaka*, the celestial flower tree, the resort of the *Pacceka buddhas* and *Arhats*.

ဒေသစာရော်၊ မြန်းကြသော်လျှင်။ This simply means 'when a journey is undertaken' ဒေသစာရော် stands for ဒေသစာရီ the Burmanized form of Pāli ဒေသံ (place) and စာရတိကံ (to walk about). But the correct Pāli form is စာရိကံစေတီ (to go on a journey).

မြန်းကြ means 'to proceed, to go, to repair.' This expression is generally used in connection with the divinity. But the use of the expression ဒေသစာရီကြတော်မူသည် is confined to Buddha alone.

သော် and လျှင် in မြန်းကြသော်လျှင် are conjunctive adverbs both having a meaning equivalent to 'when'. သော်လျှင် has the same force as mere သော် only it is more emphatic သော် being synonymous with လျှင်. This combination is very seldom employed. Those in common use in the same sense are လတ်သော်၊ လေသော်၊ လေလျှင် and လျှင်ပင်။

မှိုင်းလျှော်တုလွှတ်၊ ခေါင်တမ္ဗတ်အာ။ တင့်နည်းရှာခဲ့။ The meaning of this passage is that it is to the incomparable and most excellent One that Nature pays

respect by causing the aspect of the season both on land and water to be singularly appropriate to the occasion of the journey.

The expression *နိုင်လျှော်တုလွတ်* ခေါင်တမ္ဗတ်အား refers to Buddha. *နိုင်လျှော်တုလွတ်* simply means "incomparable." Its literal meaning is "To escape from a suitable comparison and competition."

ခေါင်တမ္ဗတ် means "the most exalted and the noblest One." *ခေါင်* for *အခေါင်* means "top, summit, the highest point." (Cf. *အထွဋ်*, *အထိပ်*, *အမျှား*.) *တမ္ဗတ်* (Archaic) means "excellent, best." It is originally the name given to one of the eight umbrellas used by the king; but the term also implies the noblest or the best.

ရက်ဝတ်လျှောသုံ၊ *သီတာဝံသည့်*၊ *ယမုလျှမ်းပြည့်*။ This simply means that the river rises fast and swells to the brim.

The first clause *ရက်ဝတ်လျှောသုံ*၊ *သီတာဝံသည့်* is identical in meaning to the next clause *ယမုလျှမ်းပြည့်*။

For the explanation of the words *သီတာ* and *ယမု* see notes on Verse II. Here also both mean an ordinary river.

ရက်ဝတ် means "the nectar of a flower, or the juice exuding from the pollen of a flower." *လျှောသုံ* means "to glide down fast." *ဝံသည့်* means "to form a bud." The whole clause *ရက်ဝတ်လျှောသုံ*၊ *သီတာဝံသည့်* means "the river becomes swollen, by the fast flow and the rising of its water." The metaphor is borrowed from the process of bud formation.

တန်းရွှေမည်နှင့်။ The palmyra fruit when ripe turns into a yellowish or golden colour; hence the expression.

ရေကြည်တာသာ၊ *တင့်နည်းရှာခဲ့*။ Literally this means that land and water voluntarily find their way how to make themselves fit.

သည့်ခါချိန်ဝယ်၊ *ခြာရှိန်လောင်ဆွတ်*၊ *တောလုံးနုသည်*။ These lines allude to three things first to the scorching September sun; second to the celestial flower tree *Mañjūsaka*; and third to the *yinmā* flower.

In Burma during the latter part of the rains, that is about September, when days are clear owing to scantiness of showers the sun looks brighter and is comparatively hot. This latter fact is further confirmed by the Burmese saying *တော်သလင်းနေ့ ဗုဒ္ဓန်သေ* (It is the heat of the *Tawthalin* sun which kills the prawns). Hence the first part of the allusion. The second part may be said to relate to a matter mythical so far as the *Himavantā* region in which the *Mañjūsaka* tree is said to grow is concerned. Moreover the idea set forth here regarding this famous tree appears to be quite new. The third reference is an absolute fact. The *Yinmā* is a seasonal flower which appears in *Tawthalin* (September).

သည့်ခါချိန်ဝယ်။ That is *Tawthalin* (September).

ခြာရှိန် in *ခြာရှိန်လောင်ဆွတ်* means "radiated heat." *လောင်ဆွတ်* means "to burn superficially, to scorch." *မှော်ကြောင်းမှတ်လျက်*။ This literally means "to recognise as a cause for delight."

ခေါင်ညွတ်မညူ means 'the *Mañjū* tree bends down from its summit.' *မညူ* for *မညူသက* is the name of the celestial flower tree noticed above.

ဥက္ကဋ္ဌ is a Pāli epithet of the sun. For further explanations see notes on Verse I.

ဇမ္ဗူနီ (Pāli) means a 'species of gold.'

ရင်းမာ is a kind of seasonal flower the Latin name for which is *Chukrasia Tabularis* or *Chukrasia Volutina*.

လှ in ရင်းမာကြိုင်လှ in this connection is not an adverbial affix which means 'almost' or 'nearly' or 'about;' but it is a verb used in the sense of 'to strive to excel' or 'to emulate.'

The meaning of the above lines is simply as follows: 'In *Tawthalin* the sun shines with radiance which surpasses the lustre of the *jambūnada* gold and the air is scorchingly hot.' But the *Manjū* tree takes delight in the warmth of the resplendent rays of the sun and puts forth numerous blooms which bend the tree by their heavy weight. And the *Yinmā* fresh amidst the flourishing growths of the forest realm and in rivalry with the other flowers, gives out its sweet fragrance and perfumes the air.

ရတုသာစွာ။ ခုသည့်ခါဝယ်။ ဂေါ်ရွှေဝတ်ရည်။ သင်းတော့သည်နှင့်။ The whole of this passage refers to the *Gawthazin*, the bloom of a creeper. It is a seasonal flower which blooms in the month of *Thadingyut* (October) and is found on trees. It is said to be far more valuable than the ordinary *Thazin*. Hence the poet calls it ဂိုင်ပန်းတော် (The monarch flower of the forest).

ညှာချင်းရှက်ဆိုင်။ မြိခွက်လှိုင်သာ။ This shows that the *Gawthazin* is thriving. The leaves in emerald green grow in gay profusion, the leaf-stalks standing side by side and touching one another.

နန်းပင်ကျော်ထက် means 'on a palatial or stately tree.' The word နန်း keeps up the metaphor. The flower is compared to a king seated on the throne.

ဂေါ်ရွှေဝတ်ရည် is the nectar or the juice from the yellow pollen of the *Gawthazin*.

သင်းတော့သည်နှင့်။ The word သင်း means "to give out fragrance or to smell sweet." တော့ is a verbal affix having the force of an inevitableness. The poet means to say that the *Gawthazin* does perforce appear and give out scent in this pleasant season of *Thadingyut* under nature's influence.

တိမ်နီလာဦး။ ရွှေထက်ကြည်ခဲ့။ These lines are exquisitely fine and pathetic. It is said that the sky looks like a sheet of sapphire dotted with silvery white clouds. The birds on the silvery sands of river banks chant sweet music in reciprocal terms of endearment and love. At the same time the weather is clear and bright.

ဦး in တိမ်နီလာဦး means "to overwhelm, to gather up."

ခွါဝတ်မှု" means 'fine dust of silver.' ခွါ for သာခွါ means "silver." ဝတ်မှု" fine dust is generally used in connection with a flower, as ပန်းဝတ်မှု" (pollen of a flower).

လွလွ in သာခွါလွလွ means 'soft.'

မယ်လှည့်လှိုင်လို့။ ချစ်တင်းဆိုလျက်။ သံချိုကြွေးဟစ်။ မျှားဆွေးသစ်၍။ By this the poet means to say that the birds are singing of love. Among female birds some warble in notes suggestive of rejection of affection, while love-lorn ones pour forth melodious strains expressive of added anxiety and grief.

မယ်လှ in မယ်လှည့်လှိုင်လို့ means "the fair sex." ညှင်းလို means "to desire to refuse."

ချစ်တင်းဆိုလျက် simply means "to sing a song of love." (Cf. ခုတင်း—a eulogy on bravery.) တင်း in this connection means "a theme or a subject matter."

သံချိုကြွေးဟစ်။ This literally means "to shout or cry out in a sweet voice." ကြွေးဟစ် or more properly တစ်ကြွေး means "to cry out at the top of one's voice." Cf. ဝိုကြွေး, ကျွေးကြော်.

ဗျာဆွေးသစ်ရှ်။ For the meaning of ဗျာ see Verse IV. ဆွေး means "to grieve."

သွန်းနှစ်လှော်ရည်။ ရွှေထက်ကြည်ခဲ။ This refers to the fair state of the weather which is here described as being far brighter than the tinge of purest gold.

In the expression သွန်းနှစ်လှော်ရည် the word သွန်း means "to cast." နှစ် for အနှစ် means "essence;" လှော် means "to smelt;" and ရည် for အရည် means "degree of purity; colour or tinge." The meaning implied here is therefore simply this: The tinge of gold of the highest degree of purity obtained by repeated smelting.

ပြည်အာကာယံ။ တိမ်ပြတန်ဝယ်.....ငွေနှင်းပြာစိ။ These lines allude to the month of *Tazaungmôn* also called *Sarada*. The following is a gist:—The full-moon day is marked with general illumination in celebration of the *Kyatti* festival. It is also the time when the god *Vishnu* after having slept for a long time just awakes. During that month the weather is dewy and every phenomenon of nature looks pleasant.

ပြည်အာကာယံ။ တိမ်ပြတန်ဝယ်။ တိမ်လှံတောက်ညို။ မိုးခေါင်ထိမှ။ ကျတ္တိသဘင်။ The lighting of great fires on the occasion of the *Kyatti* festival is here described as being so grand that the whole sky looks aflame.

ယံ in ပြည်အာကာယံ implies limit of space and means a locality. (Cf. ညဦးယံ the first watch of the night. Here ယံ implies limit of time.) ပြတန် in တိမ်ပြတန်ဝယ် derived from the Pāli ဝိတာန which means a canopy. It is also spelt ဝိတာန or simply ပြတန်.

The expression ပြည်အာကာယံ (the region of the sky) is identical with တိမ်ပြတန်ဝယ် (canopy of clouds), and also with the expression မိုးခေါင် (vault of heaven).

ကျတ္တိသဘင် refers to the *Kyatti* festival or more properly the *Kyattikā Nakkhat* festival so called because it is held when *Nakshatra Kyattikā* appears nearest to the moon while she is at her zenith on the night of the full-moon day.

ခဲလွှဲအင်နှင့် refers to the same festival. ခဲလွှဲ for အခဲလွှဲ is the seasonal festival. အင် here means 'a repusite, a quality, attribute.' (It also means 'a cause, a division' See notes on Verse IV.)

နတ်ရှင်မိုးစ။ This refers to *Vishnu* one of the higher gods, who preserves the creation. He is said to rouse from his long sleep lasting from the first waning of *Waso* (July) to the full-moon of *Tazaungmôn* (November). Hence the expression နတ်ရှင်မိုးစ 'The time at which the god just wakes up from sleep.'

ခဲ in သာဓိဓာ means 'to attend with.' သာဓိဓာ means 'the month of *Tazaungmôn*.' But in fact the term သာဓိဓာ is the name of a *ratu* (subdivision of a season) comprising the last two months of the rainy season includ-

ing *Tazaungmôn*. (Vide notes on Verse I.) It is not သရဝါ။ The long accent is used for the sake of rhyme.

မြင်းဇာနေယျ။ သိန္ဓဝနှင့်။ တည့်မွန်းမတ်လိမ့်။ The allusion is to the month of *Wagaung* when Cynthia at her highest point on the night of the full-moon day has as her attendants the *Nakshatra Saravun* and the constellation known as the *pony*.

မြင်းဇာနေယျ။ သိန္ဓဝနှင့် refers to the constellation known as the *pony*. မြင်းဇာနေယျ means "a horse or pony of noble breed." ဇာနေယျ (*Pâli*) is a contraction of အာဇာနေယျ which means "of noble race or breed." သိန္ဓဝ (also *Pâli*) means "a Sindh horse."

စန်းလယ်နှင့် means "the lovely moon." တည့်မွန်းမတ် means "to be at the zenith, or the highest point."

မြချစ်ရွက်စိမ်း။ ပုရစ်ဆင်နဲ့။ The reference is to the condition of the trees and the plants of the forest groves in the month of *Tabaung*. It is said that the leaves no longer retain their green tinge. They turn yellow and are detached from the branches and carried away by the gentle breeze; while the fresh green ones in the shape of a parrot's beak begin to shoot out.

ရှိမ်း in မရှိမ်းမြလို့ in its literal sense means "to be efficacious or powerful." မရှိမ်းမြလို့ therefore means 'to lose the green tinge.'

ရွှေဝါကိုသည် means that (the leaves) are besmeared with gold; that is they turn yellow or sere.

ကျေးနွတ်မြသွင် means "in the shape of the beak of a parrot but green."

ပုရစ်ဆင်နဲ့။ The reference is to the appearance of sprouts of leaves. ရှေ့ (Archaic) means "a shoot from the stem of a plant." (Cf. ဝတ်မဲ့အကြွေ၊ ညွတ်တုံ့ခွေသည်။ လှုံ့လေလူးသစ်။ တန်ခူးခေတ်တွင်။ ဖူးသစ်လွင်လွင်။ ပုရစ်ပြင်သည်။ *Sanda Keinnayi Pyo.*)

ထက်ခွင်အမျှန်း။ ဘရဂုဏ်ဝယ်။ တည့်မွန်းစံလျက်။ The trio, namely the moon, the *Nakshatra Uttaraparaguni* and the constellation called the *balance* (*Libra*), seen together at their zenith on the night of the full-moon day in *Tabaung* are here referred to.

For the meaning of အမွှန်း see notes on Verse II.

ယန်တုံ့ရဟတ် refers to the moon.

ချိန်ပြာသော် means 'the celestial mansion or orb called ချိန် (*Libra*).'

ဝန်းရန်ရွှေဘောင်။ ဘော်ငွေသောင်မှာ။ တင့်နည်းတွေ့၍။ The idea is that with the birds flocking in pairs as if holding a fete on silvery shoals, and with a number of boats around them on the river, the aspect both on land and water presents a picturesque scene.

ဘော်ငွေ in ဘော်ငွေသောင် means 'pure silver.' But in its adjectival sense it signifies 'silvery.'

ဆွေမောင် in ဆွေမောင်ရွက်နဲ့ means 'a married couple.'

သက်လဲနဲ့လို့ literally means 'to commit one's life to the other.' The expression signifies that the pair love each other ardently.

စံမိတ်စုံနှင့် means 'in pair.'

မြိုင်မြိုင်အပြင်။ စုံတောင်ကာ။ ရေပြန်လှိုင်းချို။ This refers to the early showers of rain in *Tabaung* and the burning of hill-sides for purposes of cultivation. The poet here means to say that about the time when the *Palaungs* burn their hill-sides showers of rain fall, and the rain water forms streams and

runs in torrents over net-like trees which are fanned by the breezy wind and carries away the fallen leaves of the forests.

ဖက်ချွေးမိုး literally means 'the leaf-detaching shower.' (Cf. ရေကန်ဆွတ် in Verse III).

ရေရိုး means 'the course of a stream.'

မိန်တန်ဆောင် refers to the forest fires in *Mein* or *Tabaung*.

ဇာရွှေကွန် (net-work) here denotes 'a plain covered with plants and bushes resembling a net-work.'

ရေပြွန်လှိုင်းချီ refers to the torrents of water.

ဥဒါသီလယ်၊ ရာသီများထိပ်၊တည့်မွန်းထိန်၍။ This refers to the sign *Meiktha* (Aries) and its corresponding month *Tagu* (April) in which the moon, the *Nakshatra Cittara* and the constellation *Sangyin* (hair-pen), are at their zenith and cast forth resplendent rays on the night of the full moon day.

ဥဒါသီလယ်၊ ရာသီများထိပ်၊ နိဂုံးပိတ်သည်။ *Meiktha* (Aries) is the last of the twelve signs, but it is reckoned as first in their serial order; and hence the passage.

နိဂုံး in နိဂုံးပိတ်သည် is from the Pāli နိဝေ and it means 'the end or conclusion.'

ပုဏ္ဏသီခွင် means 'on the night of the full-moon.' ပုဏ္ဏသီ is a Pāli word.)

ဝေဟာဝိမိန် is probably from the Pāli ဝေဟာဝဓန which means 'coming through the air;' and it refers to the three celestial orbs noticed above.

သည်မြန်ခေါ်သော်၊ လှိုင်ငွေတော်လည်း၊ရနံ့တံ့။ The gist of these lines is that at the time of the appearance of those phenomena in the sky the *Gangaw* and the *Padauk* in full blooms are most conspicuous in the forest groves and they bow before the Chief of the sages in adoration and scent the air.

တော် in လှိုင်ငွေတော်လည်း stands for တံတော် (also spelt တံတော်.) It is the name of a flower the *mesua ferrea*.

ကိုက်ညောက် means 'a tender leaf.'

မုနိဇ္ဇ is made up of မုနိ (sage) and ဇ္ဇ (chief) and it therefore means 'Chief of the sages,' that is Buddha.

The concluding lines beginning from သုံးဘုံလူ့နတ်၊ ဝရိသတ်ကို down to the end of the Verse refer to Buddha, His doctrine and the goal of His religion and mean as follows:—

'The great Master with a view to bring mankind to salvation by delivering occasional sermons to His adherents teaches them to get rid of ignorance and thirst (*avijjā* and *tanhā*) by the practice of *Jhāna* or mystic meditation, or to sever the ties of human passion (*samyojana*) and the four attachments (*yoga*), or to get out of the fourfold flood of evil passions (*ogha*)—the great whirlpool, or the stormy ocean of transmigration—by means of the golden raft of *Dhamma*—the holy eightfold Path (*Ariyo Atthangikamaggo*)—so as to reach the blissful shore of *Nirvāna*.

သုံးဘုံလူ့နတ် means the Lord of the inhabitants of the three worlds of men, nats and Brahmas; that is Buddha. More properly by the expression သုံးဘုံ is meant the three subdivisions of the world of sentient being, namely *Kāmaloka*, *rūpaloka*, *arūpaloka*, the world of sense, of form and of formless forms. (See notes on Verse V.)

နတ် here refers to Buddha who is generally styled ဝိသုဒ္ဓိနတ် in Burmese and *visuddhi deva* in Pāli. (See notes on Part III.)

ဒေသနာ (Pāli) means 'preaching, a sermon or discourse.'

ချီ in ညှက်ဖြင့်ချီသော် is an *archaic* word which means 'to make more.' (Cf. ကပိလဝတ်။ နေမှတ်ရသေ။ တည်သည့်နေ့က။ သက္ကဇာတိ။ သုံးပြည်ချီ၍။ Again ရှစ်ပါးစုံအင်။ မာရကင်ဟု။ စီးဆင်ခက်ပြီ။ သင်းသီးမှုချီ။ ခွေခင်းသိသည်။ *Paramidawgan Linga*) ညှက်ဖြင့်ချီသော် therefore means "to make utmost endeavour by means of knowledge."

မေးညှိရောင်ဝါ။ မှောင်တကျောက်။ This refers to the two Pāli technical terms of Buddhist philosophy, namely *avijjā* (ignorance) which is here expressed in Burmese မှောင် (darkness); and *taṇhā* (thirst) each forming one of the links of the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* or the chain of Causation. မေးညှိ and ရောင်ဝါ are the two qualifying terms for တကျော and မှောင် respectively. မေးညှိ is for အမေး (sticky or viscous matter), and ညှိ for အညှိ (slimy substance); hence it implies 'clinging,' the essential property of တကျော being 'sticking to' or 'holding on.' ရောင်ဝါ for အရောင်အဝါ whose original meaning is 'light' is here used figuratively, and it means 'knowledge.' But coming before the term မှောင် it may be taken to signify 'knowledge-expelling.' Hence ရောင်ဝါမှောင် means 'knowledge-expelling darkness,' that is ignorance.

စုန်ဟန်ပုံလျက် means 'to practise mystic meditation,' or figuratively 'to fly by the power of *jhāna*.' စုန် from Pāli စုန (*Jhāna*) means 'mystic meditation by the practice of which the highest spiritual advantage is attained whereby one is enabled to enter the four Paths or the four stages of sanctification leading to Nirvāṇa.' There four stages of this religious meditation are called four *Jhānas*. In fact there are five *Jhānas* the only difference being that in the former classification the second and the third are classed as one.

Those who have exercised the lower classes of *Jhāna* are reborn after death in one of the first eleven *Rūpa Brahma* heavens according to the degree of *Jhāna* attained. Those who have practised the fourth or fifth *Jhāna* are reborn in the remaining five *Rūpa Brahma* heavens or the five Pure Abodes (*Suddhāvāsa*) which are so called because they are peopled by those who have entered the third Path (*anāgāmi-magga*). Thus it may be seen that the practice of *Jhāna* enables one to enter the four Paths by which alone *avijjā* and *taṇhā* are eradicated.

The attainment of the fourth or fifth *Jhāna* means the purification of the mind to a certain extent causing it to be indifferent to all emotions, alike of pleasure and pain. It also gives the power of working miracles. (Also see notes on Part I.)

ညှစ်အဏ္ဏဝ means 'the muddy ocean.' အဏ္ဏဝ is a Pāli word for the sea or ocean.

ဩဝါ the original meaning of this Pāli term is 'flood or torrent.' But here it is used in a metaphorical sense having reference to the four-fold flood of evil passions, that is *Kāmogha*, *bhavogha*, *diṭṭhogha* and *avijjogha*,—the flood of sensual desire, the flood of renewed existence, the flood of false doctrine and the flood of ignorance.

ယောဂ (Pāli) means 'attachment' or 'that which yokes man to the round of existences.' There are four *yogas* or attachments, namely

Kāmayoga, *bhavayoga*, *diṭṭhiyoga* and *avijjāyoga*—attachment to sensual pleasure, to existence, to false doctrine and to ignorance.

ဝဲ in ဝဲလှိုင်ယဉ် means 'a whirlpool.'

သံယောဇဉ် from Pāli သံယောဇန, according to a religious usage means 'the tie of human passion which binds man to continued existence.' There are ten *samyojanas*, namely *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*, *vicikicchā*, *śīlabbataparāmāsa*, *kamaraga*, *patigha*, *ruparaga*, *aruparaga*, *mānā*, *uddhaccā* and *avijjā*. They are respectively the heresies of individuality, doubt, affectation of rites, sensual pleasure, anger, desire for rebirth in the *rūpa* world, desire for rebirth in the *arūpa* world, pride, vanity and ignorance.

The three terms *ogha* (ဩဝါ), *yoga* (ယောဂ) and *samyojana* (သံယောဇဉ်) all have almost an identical meaning inasmuch as each has something to do with human passion. But they differ in their essential qualities. The essential character or quality of *ogha* is 'overwhelming,' that of *yoga* is 'contact,' while that of *samyojana* is 'binding.' In the first human passion is to be understood as overwhelming humanity like a flood; in the second it is said to be in contact with man; while in the third it binds man to continued existences.

The removal of the bondage to renewed existence is obtained by entrance into the Four Paths or four stages of sanctification effected by going through the well regulated life of holiness called the holy eightfold Path or the *ariyo aṭṭhangiko maggo*. The first three *samyojanas* are got rid of by the first Path. *Rāga*, *dosa* and *moha* (desire, anger and ignorance) are attenuated by the second Path, while the fourth and fifth *samyojanas* are removed by the third Path. By the fourth Path called *arahatta magga* the remaining five *samyojanas* are rooted out, total emancipation from rebirth is secured and *arhatship* attained. Thus an *arhat* is one who has obtained perfect sanctification and for whom there is no rebirth after death: he has attained *Nirvāna*.

ဖြတ်ရှည်ပယ်ချိုး။ This literally means 'to cut, abandon and break.' Hence to sever or break off. ဖြတ် and ရှည် have the same meaning, namely 'to cut.' ရှည် is an archaic word. (Cf. တနင်္ဂနွေသည့် သံယောဇဉ်ကို ဖြတ်ရှည်ပယ်ချိုး Sudaunggan Pyo.)

မှောင်မှိုင်းမိစ္ဆာ။ သည်းလှစွာကို။ This refers to the same human passion that binds man to continued existences and all its kindred evils. Man (being placed in the total darkness of heterodoxy cannot see that they are original sins but he delights in them.

မိစ္ဆာ for မိစ္ဆာမိဋ္ဌိတာ is a Pāli expression which means "an erroneous view," "heresy."

မဂ်ဝိတကမ်းသောင် This refers to *Nirvāna* the Further Shore. မဂ်ဝိတ stands for the Pāli မဂ္ဂဝေ (magga phala). မဂ် or မဂ္ဂ means 'road, path, course;' but the term here signifies the holy eightfold Path. *Ariyo aṭṭhangiko maggo* or (မဂ္ဂဋ္ဌာနပေါ်တရား) Its eight constituents or divisions are *sammādiṭṭhi*, *sammāsankappo*, *sammāvācā*, *sammākammanto*, *sammājīvo*, *sammāvāyamo*, *sammāsati* and *sammāsamādhi*—right views, right thoughts, right speech, right actions, right living, right exertion, right recollection and right meditation. By going through this virtuous life the four Paths or or four

stages of sanctification leading to *Nirvâna* (*cattâro maggo*) are obtained. The four Paths are *sotâpanna-maggo*, *sakadagami-maggo*, *anâgâmi-maggo* and *arahatta-magga*.

Those who have attained the four Paths are called in Pâli *sotâpanna*, *sakadâgâmi*, *anâgâmi* and *arahâ*, respectively. Again each Path has its own fruition, that is နှစ် or ခဲ (phala); hence the expression နှစ် or ခဲ (Maggaphala). By the term နှစ် or ခဲ (phala) is meant the fruition or the result; that is the accomplishment of the destruction of particular passions in each stage. Those who have attained the four kinds of fruition are therefore called respectively *sotâpatti-phalaññhânâ*, *sakadâgâmi-phalaññhânâ*, *anâgâmi-phalaññhânâ* and *arahattaphalaññhânâ*. But in Burmese *Thawtabans*, *Athadagans*, *Anagans* and *Rahandas* are understood to mean both those who have attained the Paths and those who have achieved the results. The reason is that there is not much difference in time between the two attainments both occurring almost instantaneously.

As explained above an arhat, or *arahatta-phalaññhânâ* or *arahanta* (*Rahanda*) is one in whom all human passions are wholly extinct and who in consequence has been released from the misery of existence. Thus such a being having secured the highest degree of sanctification (*arahatta-phala*) is said to have attained *Nirvâna*, the *summum bonum*. On his death he is again said to enter *Nirvâna*. The only distinction is that in the first instance the extinction of human passion (*Kilesanibbâna*) is obtained, while in the second the extinction of being (*Khandhanibbâna*) is also secured. There is also another set of terms distinguishing the two *Nirvânas*, namely *saupâdisesanibbâna*, the extinction of everything except the five *Khandhas*, or except those which constitute a being (*upâdi*), and *anupâdisesanibbâna*, the extinction of these five *Khandhas* or the elements of being. In spite however of this distinction, *Nibbâna* (*Nirvâna*) is always regarded as one since the first is inevitably followed by the second.

The common motto of the Buddhists is *Nibbânam paramam sukham* (နိဗ္ဗာန်ဝေဒသုခံ extinction is the highest bliss). Here the fact that an Arhat having obtained the extinction of all evil passions and with the further prospect of obtaining the extinction of being after death enjoys the highest bliss is easily discernible. But the idea of bliss after the total extinction of being is extremely difficult to conceive. Some maintain that when the extinction of being takes place some thing still remains, namely *asankhatadhātu* or the unconditioned or immaterial element or principle (အသင်္ခတဘေဝဝိ ဖြစ်သောနိဗ္ဗာန်). But this is only one of the many epithets which are applied to *Nirvâna* and it seems to be totally devoid of the idea of bliss. Then it may be sad for the sake of argument that a question of the highest importance naturally arises which requires a very careful consideration in order to arrive at a solution which will set at rest the minds of all those who are interested in the matter. Bliss or no bliss that which is only admitted on both sides is that *Nibbâna* (*Nirvâna*) is the extinction of being or the end of existence since Buddhism is founded on the Four Noble Truths (*Cattâri Ariya Saccâni*) the first of which is that

"existence is suffering." Further than this no tangible proof has as yet been obtained to regard Nibbāna (Nirvāna) as a blissful state.

To me it appears that to get to the idea of *Nibbāna* being blissful it is necessary that the stand-point of Buddhism, namely that 'existence is suffering' should be realized first. In support of this view I would quote the following from *Dhammapada*:—

"Jighacchā paramā rogā,
Sankhārā paramā dukkhā,
Etaṃ ñatvā yathābūtaṃ
Nibbanam paramam sukham.

Hunger is the worst of diseases; the elements of the body the greatest evil: if one knows this truly this is *Nibbāna* the highest bliss."

Etymologically the term Nibbāna has a twofold meaning, namely extinction and bliss. It therefore involves the idea of both extinction and bliss though it is in its nature single. But the bliss here is not that bliss which we can perceive or feel by our senses. It is that bliss which can be realized only by those in whom human passion is totally extinct and who are free from all attachments to the world. For this reason Nibbāna is reckoned as beyond the world of sentient being (*Lokuttara*). *Nibbāna* taken in this sense is therefore not the mere extinction of passion or the annihilation of being, but it is an absolute fact realized owing to such extinction or annihilation.*

မဂ်ဒိလ်ကမ်းသောင်။ ဝိကြဉ်းဆောင်သည်။ ရွှေဘောင်မြစ်ညာလဆန်းတည်း။ This is a well known metaphor whereby *Nirvāna* is compared to the Further Shore which saves humanity from the boisterous river of continued existences after one has to be conveyed across this river by means of the raft of *Dhamma*—*Ariyo atthangiko magga* or the holy eightfold Path.

Po BYU.

၆။ မြတ်သယံဗျူ။ ထွင်မှန်ကူလည်း။ မြိုင်ငူသေလာ။ ဂန္ဓမာသို့။ ဒေသစာရော်။ မြိန်းကြသော်လျှင်။ နှိုင်းလျော်တုလွတ်။ ခေါင်တမ္ပတ်အာ။ ရက်ဝတ်လျောသုံးသီတာဝံသည်။ ယခုလျှမ်းပြည့်။ ထန်းရွှေမည့်နှင့်။ ရေကြည်ဘာသာ။ တင့်နည်းရှာခဲ့။ သည်ခါချိန်ဝယ်။ ဖြာရိန်လောင်ဆွတ်။ ပျော်ကြောင်းမှတ်လျက်။ ခေါင်ညွတ်မဉ္ဇူ။ ဥဏှဂူလည်း။ ဇဗ္ဗနဒါ။ ရွှေထက်သာ၍။ ရင်းမာကြိုင်လူ။ တောလုံးနုသည်။ ရတုသာစွာ။ ခုသည်ခါဝယ်။ ညှာချင်းရှက်ဆိုင်။ မြွှေကလိုင်သား။ ဂန္ဓင်ပန်းတော်။ နန်းပင်ကျော်ထက်။ ဂေါရွှေဝတ်ရည်။ သင်းတော့သည်နှင့်။ တိမ်နီလာခြုံ။ ခွါဝတ်မှု၍။ ယခုနာဝယ်။ သာခွါလွလွ။ သံပေါ်စထက်။ မယ်လျှည်းလို့။ ချစ်တင်းဆိုလျက်။ သံချိုကြွေးဟစ်။ မျှာဆွေးသစ်၍။ သွန်းနှစ်လှော်ရည်။ ရွှေထက်ကြည်ခဲ့။ ပြည်အာကာယံ။ တိမ်ပြတာန်ဝယ်။ ထိန်လုံးတောက်ညှိ။ မိုးခေါင်ထိမူ။ ကျဉ်းသဘင်။ ခါပွဲအင်နှင့်။ နတ်ရှင်နိုးစ။ သာမျိုးခသည်။ လသရဒါ။ ငွေနှင်းဖြာ၏။ မြင်းဇာနေယျ။ သိန္ဒဝနှင့်။ စန်းလယုန်မွန်။ သရဝဏ်လည်း။ မိုးစွန်ထိန်လျှပ်။ တည့်မွန်းမတ်လိမ့်။ မြေရပ်ရွက်စိမ်းလေပြည်သိမ်းက။ မရိမ်းမြလို့။ ရွှေဝါကျံသည်။ လေပြန်လှောင်းသုတ်။ ရွက်ညောင်းပြတ်၍။ ကျေးနှုတ်မြသွင်း။ ပရစ်ဆင်ခဲ့။ ထက်ခွင်အမွှန်း။ ဘရဂဏ်ဝယ်။ ယုန်ဘုံရဟတ်။ ချိန်ပြာသားက။ တိမ်လတ်မွန်မွန်။ တည့်မွန်းစံလျက်။ စန်းရံရွှေဘောင်။ ဘော်ငွေသောင်မှာ။ ဆွေမောင်ရှက်နွဲ့။ ငှက်တို့ပွဲလည်း။ သက်လဲနုလုံး။ စံမိတ်စံနှင့်။ ယခုကြည်းရေ။ တင့်နည်းထွေ၍။ မြိုင်ခြေအပြင်။ စုံတခွင်က။ ရွက်ကျင်ခွေကျိ။ ဇက်ဆွေမိုးပူ။ ရေရိုးယူဆောင်။ မိန်တန်ဆောင်မှ။ ပလောင်တောင်သ။ ချိန်တမျှက်။ စိမ်းမြလေသွန်း။ ဇာရွှေကွန်မှာ။ ရေပြန်လှိုင်ချိ။ ခွါဒသီဝယ်။ ရာ

* See the two contributions on nibbāna in Vol. VIII, pt. III—Editor.

သီများထိတ်နိဂုံးပိတ်သည်။ ဟိတြာံ၊ စန်းလယုန်တို့၊ ပုဏ္ဏမိခွင်၊ ရွှေဆံကျင်နှင့်၊ ဝေဟင်မိန်၊ တည့်မွန်းထိန်၍၊
သည်ချိန်ခါသော်၊ လှိုင်ငွေဂေါ်လည်း၊ မြိုင်ပေါ်ဝိတောက်၊ သူမင်းမြောက်လိမ့်၊ ကိုက်ညောက်ဖိမြှာ၊ စုံညီလာ
နှင့်၊ မဟာသကျ၊ မုနိန္ဒကီ၊ ဖူးကြည့်ရုံ၊ ရနံ့ထုံခွဲ၊ သုံးဘုံသူနတ်၊ ပရိသတ်ကို၊ ချေချွတ်ပေးခါ၊ ဒေသနာဖြင့်၊
ပယ်ခွါလွင့်ဘိ၊ ဥာဏ်ဖြင့်ချိသော်၊ စေးညှိရောင်ဝါ၊ မှောင်တလျှောက်၊ ပယ်ခွါတွန်းလှန်၊ ချာန်ဟုန်ပျံလျက်၊ ညွှန်
အာဏ္ဏဝါ၊ ဩဇာယောဂ၊ ဝဲမလှိုင်းယဉ်၊ သံယောဇဉ်ကို၊ ဖြတ်ရည်ပယ်ချိုး၊ မှောင်မျိုးမိစ္ဆာ၊ သည်းလှစွာကို၊ ကင်း
စေလို၍၊ မင်ဖိုလ်ကမ်းသောင့်၊ ပို့ကြဉ်းဆောင်သည်။ ။ ရွှေဘောင်မြစ်ညာလဆန်တည်း။

It is the month of *Tawthalin*. As the most exalted One proceeds to Mount Gandhamâ, rivers swell to the brim and own him as Lord. The sun-burnt palmyra flaunts its ripened fruits. Both earth and water don their gaudy trim.

The fervent sun darts rays brighter than the finest gold. The *Mañjû* tree revels in the sultry air and bends beneath the weight of its blooms. The *Yinma* vies with the other blossoms of the verdant region in diffusing fragrance. Serene is the season. The clinging *Gawthazin*, that flower of flowers puts forth its emerald leaves in gay profusion and sheds its sweetness on the ambient air. The azure sky is besprent with white spots. On the silvery sand-banks some birds reject amorous advances in demure accents; while others repeat in shrill tones their touching tale. Bright was the sky as gold purified seven times.

Tasaungdaing fires flush the full-moon sky of Tazaungmon. Vishnu has just awakened from his long sleep. The dew falls and the face of nature beams with joy.

The full-rounded moon of Wagaung appears with the *pony* and *Sarawun*. Gentle breezes turn the leaves yellow and carry them away and young sprouts shoot out.

On the full-moon night of Tabaung, *Uttaraparaguni* and *Libra* shed their lustre along with the moon. The rivers are alive with boats and the birds flock merrily in pairs on shining sands. The vision is bewitching. In this season *Palaungs* burn the sides of hills. Showers carry off sere leaves and torrents flow through the region dotted with trees.

When the sun is in the last sign, *Cittara* and the *hairpin* shine by the side of the full-orbed moon. The *gangaw* and the *pudauk* blow full fair and bow before the Sage and scent in the air. Nature renders homage to the Master who has shown the way of deliverance out of the maze of ignorance and desire, attachment and passion.

B. H.

ARAKAN EIGHTY YEARS AGO.*

It is curious that so few records seem to have survived throwing any light on life in Arakan in the years immediately following its incorporation into the British Empire. So far I have not been able to find any, though from various sources one can learn a good deal about the rest of Burma in these days. Yet this early history of Arakan as a British Province should be as interesting as that of Tenasserim, and it must have run on much the same lines of the gradual substitution of settled law and even handed justice for arbitrary rule and violence: of the protection of peaceful cultivators and traders, which is the only basis on which can be built an increase in the population and a higher average standard of material comfort. The early European settlers as they called themselves in Tenasserim, have left ample records of their life, but the Europeans in Arakan have not done so. Possibly the explanations of the difference may lie in the Europeans in Arakan not considering themselves to be "settlers" but mere birds of passage, there merely to make money as traders; or as the servants of Government holding a new province. Even the *Maulmein Chronicle* devotes far more attention to Rangoon and Upper Burma, to Siam and even to the Malay Peninsula, than it does to Arakan. Tenasserim did not border on Arakan as it did on the other countries named and that may partly account for the difference, but one would have expected some rivalry between two provinces annexed at the same time, and some interest in each other on this account, but of this I can find no trace.

The first reference to Arakan in the *Maulmein Chronicle* appears in the issue of 24th February 1838. In that the editor says; "The following account of Arracan was written by the Rev. Mr. Malcolm, who, as some of our readers will recollect, visited this place about two years ago. From hence he proceeded to Ava, and afterwards went to Arracan. The principal object of his travels was, we have understood, to give information as to the conditions, labours and prospects of Missions in the East; and in connection with these, some of his journals, which we have seen, show that he gained much information as to the localities, resources and population of the various places which he visited." Mr. Malcolm's accounts of Arakan do throw some light on the Arakan of his time. He tells us that Akyab "is the commercial metropolis of Arracan and has much shipping generally in port. Rice is obtained in unlimited quantities." The figures he gives, however, scarcely bear out what would now be considered unlimited quantities, as the money value of the rice exported annually was only about three lakhs of rupees. The price, however, seems to have been very low. Paddy cost only five rupees per hundred *arees*, while cleaned from the husk the price was just double that. He does not mention any rice mills, so probably none existed in Akyab then.

* Read at the Annual General meeting 31st January, 1919.

A footnote, apparently by the editor of the *Chronicle* explains that "an *aree* is about 25 pounds." I have no means of ascertaining here what weight of paddy an Arakanese basket of the present day contains, but if it is about 25 lbs. the price of paddy at the seaports of Arakan has increased enormously during the past eighty years. The last *Rangoon Gazette Weekly Budget* to hand, that of 8th April, gives the prices at Akyab as Rs. 31|8 for laroong and Rs. 40|- for nacrenzie, while the price for the week ending 4th April, 1917, was Rs. 51|-. If then the old *aree* was approximately the same as the modern basket, the cultivator now gets from six to ten times the price for his paddy that his predecessor in 1836 got. The quantities going annually must also be enormously increased since then. Three lakhs of rupees coming in to the hands of the cultivators, no doubt, seemed a great improvement on the old times, to the cultivators of 1836, but to their descendants today it would seem a miserable pittance. With paddy so cheap, the exporters from Akyab must surely have made money very easily. Fortunes are still made by exporting rice from Burma, no doubt, but the margin of possible profit must be lower now; competition is keener and the capital required greater. In those early days any one who could finance the shipment of a cargo of rice must have been fairly sure of a handsome profit. That is scarcely the case now. But if the merchants of that time could make money so easily and so surely, that may explain why they have left fewer records than their contemporaries in Maulmein. They were too busy raking in money easily to trouble about grandiose schemes of development in other directions as the people in Maulmein did. Moreover, the European merchants in Arakan were probably few in numbers as compared with those in Maulmein. Nor is it likely that they looked on themselves as "settlers" or "colonists." Indeed, even with only sailing ships available, it is possible that many of them only came to Akyab for the rice season, and spent the rest of the year in Calcutta.

Mr. Malcolm gives us other particulars regarding Arakan in his time. Besides the rice trade there was a considerable export of salt, which could be bought in Akyab at the price of one rupee for three maunds. The population of Akyab was then only about 8000, of whom many were Bengalis. Then were also some Chinese. It is possible, of course, that the early export trade from Akyab was mainly in the hands of these Bengalis and Chinese and that there were few or no Europeans except civil servants, soldiers, and a few missionaries. If so, there would be no "settlers," like those in Maulmein who made the existence of *The Chronicle* possible there. The population of Akyab is now 38000. Sando-way, according to Mr. Malcolm, had a population of four thousand, and he adds that "no spot in India is considered more healthful than this." In spite of this advantage it has not increased at all during the eighty years that have elapsed since he wrote. Of Kyaukpyu he says that it was "merely a watering place for numerous trading vessels from Bassein and other places in Burmah on their way to Chittagong and Calcutta. They generally stop several days and traffic a little. Many of them carry forty, fifty, or even more men." Kyaukpyu had only two thousand in-

habitants in 1836. It has now 188,239, or nearly as many as all Arakan eighty years ago. That is given us as "nearly 237,000."

The following account of an insurrection is interesting: "Since the cession of the country to the British, the descendants of the old royal family of Arracan have several times endeavoured to regain the government. During the present year (1836) an attempt of the kind was made. Some of the hill tribes and various robbers, etc. joined the conspirators and an army of considerable force was mustered. Some villages were burnt and the city of Arracan taken; but the sepoys drove them from the place without coming to any pitched battle, and the leaders at length took refuge in Burmah and ended the struggle. The government at Ava has given up most of the chiefs who are now in prison at Akyab." He goes on to say that the province has always been deemed particularly unhealthy to foreigners, though "Kyauk Phyoo, Ramree and Sandoway are certainly salubrious points, particularly the latter." The editor of the *Maulmein Chronicle* says in a foot note to this; "Kyouk Phyoo has been so extremely unhealthy for more than a year past that it has been abandoned as a military station." Mr. Malcolm says also that Arakan had once been famous for its cocoa-nuts but in former wars the trees had been almost exterminated.

The following paragraph is interesting; "Arracan was formerly the principal city. It is now reduced to 3000 inhabitants, and is still diminishing. Its trade has passed to Akyab at the mouth of the river, a site selected by the English for its advantageous positions for health and commerce, and one rapidly growing. The old city has always been most fatal to foreigners, though a favourite residence with the Mugs. The Burmese who used to come with the governor when the country was their province could not endure it. When the British took it and established a camp there, two full European regiments were reduced in a few months to 300 men in both, and even of the sepoys and camp followers forty to fifty died per day. Perhaps the particular circumstances of that army gave force to the pestilence, for nearly the same dreadful diminution attended the army in Rangoon, confessedly one of the healthiest places in the world." Even in the present day, in spite of statistics of health one often hears very fanciful opinions as to the health or otherwise of certain places, but in the early nineteenth century there seems to have been no check on any one's imagination in such matters. It is impossible to believe that the Rangoon of eighty years ago could have had any claim to be one of the healthiest places in the world. We know from the accounts of the first Burmese war that the mortality among the troops, both European and Indian, was frightful. According to a return drawn up by the Deputy Adjutant General, during the first year of the war, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the troops were killed in action, while 45 per cent. perished from disease. Colonel Laurie, in his account of the war says; "The heavy periodical rains, flooding the land, impeded operations for several months; and, during this period of inaction, disease, the result of malaria, penetrated the British camp, and nearly decimated the regiment." Rangoon even now is not exactly a health resort, and the

undrained Rangoon of eighty years ago must have been much less so. The mortality from the sickness among the European troops was, no doubt, aggravated by ignorance, unsuitable food and clothing, drink and other causes, but Rangoon in 1836 could not have been one of the healthiest places in the world.

Mr. Malcolm next tells us that Arakan "is regarded as the parent hive of the Burmese race and language". He points out that the language spoken by the Mugs of Arakan is the same as that of the Burmese, though the pronunciation is different; also that the Arakanese resent being called Mugs and call themselves "Mrammas", while they call the Burmese "Oukthas," which in turn is resented by the Burmese. He had not been able to ascertain the origin of the word "Mugs", but was generally assured that it was derived from a race of kings who had reigned when the country first became known to Europeans. It is possible of course, that the first immigrants of the Burmese race went to Arakan, but this seems to be a merely a conjecture without any proof. Nor do I know of any reason for supposing that Upper Burma was peopled by emigration from Arakan. The immigrants to Upper Burma might quite well have come direct from the same source as the Arakanese, but, whether before them or after them, there is nothing to show. Mr. Malcolm goes on to say that the Arakanese "are certainly much less intelligent than the Burmans, and the country less prosperous, doubtless in consequence of frequent and disolating wars and long oppression." As to the inferiority of the Arakanese in intelligence, if it really existed in Mr. Malcolm's time, it may have had some connection with another difference pointed out by him, namely, the lax Buddhism of the Arakanese. He says that he never saw a pagoda in the province, except a small one left half built near Akyab. Mr. Fink, a government official, told him that he had only seen three new pagodas in the whole Akyab district during the preceding ten years. If Buddhism was at a low ebb in Arakan then, the monastic schools would be few in number and probably poor in quality, and the result might well be a lower general average of intelligence among the people.

Mr. Malcolm probably is fairly correct in the facts he states as to the Arakan of his time, except, perhaps, in those relating to the comparative salubrity of various places. But his inferences are often very questionable. He puts down, for instance, the want of prosperity in Arakan, as compared to that of the rest of Burma, to "desolating wars and long oppression." But it is open to question whether Arakan really suffered more from those causes than Upper Burma, Pegu and Tenasserim did. Oppression was universal, and there is no reason to suppose it was worse in Arakan than elsewhere in the country. Nor do I see any reason for supposing that Arakan suffered more from perpetually recurring wars. A mountainous country like Arakan is less easily over-run by foreign invaders than open plains, so it seems probable that Arakan suffered less in this way than Upper Burma and Pegu. But, with only very primitive means of communication available, a mountainous country is naturally at a disadvantage in many ways, as

compared with open plains intersected by navigable rivers. It is easier to establish a strong central authority in the latter and trade can be carried on over a larger area. This all makes far greater numbers of people and far more wealth in countries like Upper Burma and Pegu with the Irrawaddy as an open highway. In Arakan there is no great river and trade could not have extended much beyond that between neighbouring villages. This would be quite sufficient to account for a small and poor population in Arakan as compared to Upper Burma and Pegu. In spite of these natural drawbacks, at the close of the Sixteenth century, the King of Arakan, in co-operation with the King of Taungoo, was able to over-run Pegu and humble to the dust, a Kingdom which had greatly impressed Caesar Frederick, Fitch and other early European travellers. A Jesuit priest named Boves, writing in the year 1600, thus describes the destruction that had been wrought;—"It is a lamentable spectacle to see the banks of the rivers, set with infinite fruit-bearing trees, now overwhelmed with ruins of gilded temples and noble edifices; the ways and fields full of skulls and bones of wretched Peguans, killed or famished and cast into the river in such numbers that the multitude of carcases prohibited the way and passage of any ships; to omit the burnings and massacres committed by this, the cruellest tyrant that ever breathed." The King of Arakan is the tyrant here referred to. He was helped by Phillip de Brito who received the port of Syriam as a reward for his services. His history is well known now, but in 1836, Mr. Malcolm probably knew nothing of all this and he saw Arakan while it was still suffering, no doubt, from its conquest by the Burmese in 1784. It was in that war probably that the wholesale destruction of fruit trees took place.

J. STUART.

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

SOME HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

(Concluded from Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 52).

The Record of Rammawadi Township 64.

The Record of the examination of Nga Ke, born on the first day of the week aged 37, the Thugyi of Rammawadi Township taken on the second waning of the second Waso in the year 1164.

I am the ruler and guardian. These are the boundaries of the Township of Rammawadi as they were formerly laid down by the Kamaung Min Raza, the Lord of Arakan in the reigns of Sandathu Dhamma Raza and Apaya Dhamma Raza; on the East it backs against the lands of Lamudan lwe in the jurisdiction of Dwayawadi Township on one side so far as about three "tas" distance from the line of the river to the sea from the Kaleindatha Hill; on the South East it backs against the sea shore beyond the Saku island and Magyi island at a distance of about 10000 "tas"; on the South it backs against the lands of Megawadi Township so far as the line of the sea shore at a distance of about six "daings"; on the South West it backs against the land of Kyetyothitpon in the jurisdiction of Rammawadi on one side so far as the line of the sea shore at a distance of about three daings; on the West it reaches so far as the road stead of the ships at a distance of about eight daings from the line of the sea shore; on the North West it reaches so far as the road stead of the ships at a distance of about thousand daings from the line of the sea shore; on the North it backs against the land of Myebonkyetsin in the jurisdiction of Dinnyawadi so far as the line of the Kyan river beyond the Kyunthaya and Kunchaung islands at a distance of about twenty thousand "tas"; on the North East it backs against the occupied land in the jurisdiction of Dwayawadi so far as the Ava river at a distance of about five daings and thousand "tas".

Within these boundaries thus laid down by four and eight there are the Myoma Town, the villages of Tonywa, Kyaukchauk, Kandaing, Kandaw, Kinywa, Zinchaung, Minyat, Thin chaung, Alèchaung, Yanbauk, Yanbet, Yanbye-ngè, Ledaung, Thandaung, Nyaungbinhla, Mayasein, Kunchaung-kyunthaya, Myochaung, Kyauklet, in all twenty small villages.

Of these the boundaries of the Myoma are on the East it backs against the Lamudan lwe land in the jurisdiction of Dwayawadi, so far as the line of the river from Kāleindātha Hill at a distance of about three daings; on the South East it borders on the Thinbankaing land included in Tabet-hon village so far as the Tein stream at a distance of half a taing; on the South it borders on the Letpan-byin land included in Kyaukchauk

village on one side so far as the Kyaukgaung pyu ridge of hills at a distance of about three daings; on the South West it borders on the Chaung bya land included in Tabetyanthet village so far as Nabet sin taung Kyauk pet leik at a distance of about three daings; on the North West it borders on the land of Yanbauk village so far as the Kalathat ridge of hills at a distance of about two daings; on the North it borders on the land of Yanbet village on one side so far as the round stone in the image of a pig on the ridge of high hills, at a distance of about two daings; on the North East it backs against the land of Ma I Sanè village in the jurisdiction of Dwayawadi on one side so far as the Chan bon at a distance of about three daings.

In the Myoma there is the Tadaung daw pagoda, the benefaction of Sandathu Dhamma Raza, the glebe land is worked by 18 pairs of buffaloes, 525 Arakanese quarter baskets are sown; in Kandaing village is the Namwedaw Pagoda the benefaction of Sandathu Dhamma Raza Saw Maing gyi, the glebe lands are in Yanbauk village so much as 7 pairs of buffaloes work, 210 Arakanese quarter baskets being sown, and in Kandaing village so much as one pair works 30 quarter baskets being sown; in Kankaw village there is the Kankawdaw pagoda the benefaction of Sandathu Dhamma Raza, the glebe land is in Alèchaung so much as two pairs of buffaloes work, 60 quarter baskets being sown; in Alèchaung village there is the Na on daw Pagoda, the benefaction of Si taya min, the glebe land is in the Thabyu valley of Mayasein, so much as four pairs of buffaloes work, 120 quarter baskets being sown; in Lèdaung village is the Li-yo-daw pagoda, the benefaction of Sandathu Dhamma Raza, the glebe land is so much as 5 pairs of buffalo work, 170 quarter baskets being sown, and in Yan bet village so much as one pair of buffaloes works 40 quarter baskets being sown; in Hon village there is the Pakondaw Pagoda, the benefaction of Sandathu Dhamma Raza, the glebe land is so much as 16 pairs of buffaloes work and 655 quarter baskets are sewn; in the same village is the Letthandaw pagoda the benefaction of Sandathu Dhamma Raza, the glebe land is so much as four pairs of buffaloes work, and 120 quarter baskets are sown; in the same village is the San U Thein Pagoda, the benefaction of Sandathu Dhamma Raza, the glebe land is so much as 18 pairs of buffaloes work 240 quarter baskets being sown; in the Yanbye nge village is the Hnokkandaw pagoda the benefaction of (Sanda) thu Dhamma Raza, the glebe land is so much as seven pairs of buffaloes work, 280 quarter baskets being sown; in the same village is Seitsadaw kyaung the benefaction of Sandathu Dhamma Raja the glebe land is so much as eight pairs of buffalo work, 320 quarter baskets being sown; in the same village are the Thein and Pagoda the benefaction of the Queen of Sandathu Dhamma Raza and her sister Mi Nyo Hla, the glebe land is so much as 12 pairs of buffaloes work and 360 quarter baskets are sown.

In Yan thet village there is Athèdaw Pagoda, the benefaction of Sandathu Dhamma Raza, the glebe land is so much as 20 pairs of buffaloes work and 620 quarter baskets is sown, and in Yan bauk village so much as 6 pairs of buffaloes work, 240 quarter baskets being sown and

in the Myoma there is glebe land of the same pagoda so much as 2 pairs work, 60 quarter baskets being sown; in Kinywa village there is Kamokdaw pagoda the benefaction of Sandathu Dhamma Raza, the glebe land is so much as a pair of buffaloes work, 30 baskets being sown. So far as Nyaungbin hla pyon pyi village there is the Teikdaw pagoda the benefaction of Sanda thu Dhamma Raza the glebe land being so much as a pair of buffaloes works and 30 quarter baskets being sown. In all there are 11 Pagodas, three theins and one monastery, the glebe land attaching to all three kinds being so much as 133 pairs of buffaloes work, and 4110 quarter baskets of paddy being sown. Formerly during the time of the Lord of Arakan no revenue was collected from the glebe lands of the monasteries and pagodas and none was paid in.

As for the revenue that was regularly paid the people of the 18 villages paid as bee's wax revenue 720 pieces of silver, for places where there was water 470 pieces of silver, at the Thingyan Festival 417 pieces of silver, at the close of lent 368 pieces of silver; the company of iron workers 800 pieces of silver as revenue on the iron; the kalas who lived in the town pay as poll tax 750 pieces of silver and at the time of their festival 118 pieces, the kala fishermen pay as revenue for their nets 55 pieces of silver, it is the custom to present the revenue once every year to the Lord of Arakan.

It is the custom to collect one piece of silver on every hundred "tas" of bamboo of high land worked by the villagers a distance of ten bamboos, twelve cubits long in length and three bamboos in breadth being reckoned as a hundred "tas". From the people who work san hemp gardens it is the custom to collect one piece of silver on every 100 "tas", 10 lengths of bamboo, 12 cubits long in length and 10 lengths in breadth being reckoned as 100 "tas". It is the custom to collect revenue from people who cultivate tobacco in gardens 10 lengths of bamboo 12 cubits long, in length and 10 broad. The tobacco is strung on split bamboo and one piece of silver is charged for each bamboo according to the number of strings.

From unmarried sons and unmarried daughters if they ought to possess a house it is the custom to collect two pieces of flat copper wire and pay it to the person appointed by the Lord of Arakan. It is the custom for cultivators of paddy fields to pay on each pair of buffaloes five baskets of paddy in Arakan quarter baskets and measure and deliver it at the royal granary. It is the custom for the people to make over to the Lord of Arakan 29 boats of 7 fathoms, 8 fathoms and 9 fathoms length.

The people who put their trust in persons possessed by nats and in offerings to nats can follow their religion if they wish to do so. No revenue has to be paid on sheds erected in honour of nats.

No revenue had to be paid to the Viceroy Nara thaman kyaw wun sin whom His Majesty appointed when he took possession of the township on its passing his dominion in the year 46. Thereafter revenue had to be paid to the successors of Viceroys and Akunwuns and officials at their assessment. According to the custom of the writing the villagers and residents of the Town pay for every household one "mat" of silver, a

revenue of 1994 pieces of silver, at the New Year festival of the Thingyan every household pays one "mat" of silver, 1208 pieces of silver, for wax every household pays one "mat" of silver, 1350 pieces of silver; the company of iron workers pay revenue on the iron at 2 pieces of silver for every household, 1559 pieces of silver; the kalas who dwell in the Town and the Province pay a poll tax of three pieces of silver, 749 pieces of silver, and at their time of festival one piece for every two houses; 124 pieces of silver, those of them who are fishermen for every company pay one piece of silver a revenue of 74 pieces of silver. The cultivators of bran gardens who live in the village of the province pay one piece of silver for every 30 "ta" of bamboos; a plot in length ten bamboos 12 cubits long and in breadth three bamboos is reckoned as 30 "tas"; the san hemp cultivators pay one piece of silver on every 1000 "tas", in length 10 bamboos 12 cubits long and in breadth 10 bamboos. The cultivators of tobacco for a plot 10 bamboos 12 cubits long in length and three bamboos in breadth pay one piece of silver for every bamboo, the tobacco being strung on split bamboos, according to the number of pairs of strings.

For a son and a daughter who ought to possess a house two flat pieces of copper wire are paid.

The glebe land of monasteries and pagodas pays one piece of silver for every yoke of buffalo working the land on which 40 quarter baskets is sown. The people who trust in persons possessed by nats and offerings to nats if they receive support for the nat has to pay one piece of silver.

When the Viceroy and akunwuns and officials appoint a collector they have to pay.

The cultivators of paddy land for every yoke of buffalo have to pay 3 Burman baskets of paddy and measure it and deliver it in to the royal granary in Ramawadi Town. If the Viceroy or akunwuns or officials have occasion to use boats the headman of the quarters and the villages have to make boats 7 fathoms, 8 fathoms and 9 fathoms in length and place them at their disposal.

Within the Township of Ramawadi of which I was the true one lord and guardian there is one landing stage and watch posts for vessels to come and go; besides this there is no fishery nor landing stage nor toll booth nor ferry.

This is the deposition of Nga Kè the thugyi of the Township of Ramawadi.

The Record of Zwebon Township 64.

The record of the examination of Nga Khan Hmat, born on the 3rd day of the week aged 50, the thugyi of the Township of Zwebon taken on the 10th waxing of Tawthalin in the year 1164.

These are the boundaries of the Township in my charge, Zwebon, on the East it borders on Dinme Township so far as the Thabyu chaung, on the South it borders the lands of Syriam, on one side of the Winle stream, on the South West it borders on the lands of Syriam and the

Dezat Asaing stream; on the West it borders on the land of Lakunbyin and Mawmyaing Townships on one side of the Pago stream, on the North it borders on the land of Hanthawaddy Township so far as the Delasin Pagoda.

Within these four boundaries there are not omitting a single house or hut 434 households and of their children and dependants and descendants 1355 households; the total of the two is 1809, there are 1355 men, 1574 women, 927 boys, 833 girls, the total of the four is 4717. I have written and submit a list in detail and in brief.

The Record of Sittaung Township 45.

The deposition of Tuyin Yègaung, born on the 2nd day of the week, aged 60, the thugyi of Sittaung Township, taken on the 8th waning of Natdaw in the year 1145 according to the royal computation:—

In the reign of the king who came to Hanthawaddy the Royal Father of the king, Nga Thut San, my wife's grandfather had charge and rule over on the Township of Sittaung. After he was no more, his father Nga Sa Thaing had charge and rule from the reign of the king who came to Hanthawaddy until the reign of Alaung Mintayagyi. My wife and myself have had rule and charge up to the reign of his present Majesty.

There are the boundaries of Sittaung Township of which my wife and I have charge and rule; on the East at a distance of 13000 "tas" it borders on the land of Yunzalin Me Pok Me Pale and the other hills of the Kyaiktiyo range; on the South at a distance of about 3000 "tas" it borders on the sea on one side so far as the Lakunwi ayaing stream; on the West at a distance of about 3000 "tas" it borders on the land of Pago, so far as the three thorny bamboos west of Eindithiri village; on the North it borders on the lands of Pago and the division of Kyonpagu stream at a distance of about 5000 "tas".

Within these four boundaries the only religious land of which I have ever heard is the village designated Mobaw, the glebe land of the Kyaiktiyo Pagoda. I am unable to make a deposition as to its boundaries.

There are no teak trees, cocoanut nor toddy palms; nor any landing stages, toll booths nor ferries. As regards gardens the Karens of Mobaw have a garden of betel palms: the betel trees pay no revenue on the betel. These Karens have to supply annually five (viss) of wax; if they cannot supply wax, 250 elephant's tusks; if they cannot supply elephant's tusks they have to pay revenue of six tickals and one mat of pure silver. If there is a "Myosa" they have to pay it to the "Myosa" if there is no "Myosa" they have to pay it to the Akunwun and revenue writers of Rangoon. There are the Lahagyi and the Lahangè fisheries. Except for Ne Ywe and Bokagyi who work the fisheries free of revenue the tank fishermen have to pay two tickals and two mats of pure silver a piece, for the writers' fee one mat, for the wun one mat and for the headman one mat. The revenue dues and tolls of justice for the high officials are collected by the head of the cattle and of the horse and of the elephants on the orders of the Myosa. If there is no Myosa the Viceroy and Sitkè reckon and examine and collect it. This is the deposition.

In the aforesaid boundaries there were no inhabitants in the Theinsayat village and Kyonpago village. They could not be included in the .45 list, in the .64 list also as there were no inhabitants they could not be included.

The Record of Dinme Township 64.

The record of the examination of Nga Ya, born on the 5th day of the week, aged 70, commissioner of land sales in the Township of Dinme, recorded on the 10th waxing of Tawthalin 1164.

Nga Lat Pa the great grand father of my wife was the headman in charge; when he was no more his son Nga Let Pyan was the headman in charge; when he was no more Nga Ti was headman in charge; when he was no more my wife Mike Thaing, the daughter of Nga Ti, and myself in succession of office from great grand father, grand father and father were head in charge and commissioner (of land) in Dinme Township.

These are the boundaries of Dinme Township: on the East it borders on the land of Kyaikatha on the farther side of the Sittaung river, on the South it borders on the lands of Zwebon Township so far as the Amalaw brook; on the West it borders on the land of Zwebon Township at the mouth of the Thabyuchaung; on the North it borders on the lands of Hanthawaddy and the Kyaik paing kyon pagoda.

Within these four boundaries thus laid down there are 38 resident households, the total being 177. There are 173 adult males, 171 adult females, 134 boys, 88 girls, the total being 520. I have written and submit a list in detail and in brief.

The Record of Kyaukmaw Township 45.

Nga Su Taung born on the 1st day of the week, aged 28, the thugyi of Kyaukmaw Township being examined deposes:—

These are the boundaries of Kyaukmaw Township, on the East over against the lands of Zimmè, so far as the other side of Thadwin river (Salwin?) at about 10000 (ta"?) distance, on the South East over against the lands of Shwegyin, on one side so far as the Peinbinmè slope of the Kyaukchan hill at about five daing distance; on the south over against the lands of Shwegyin on one side so far as the Swèthalwè hill, the Yandaing fishery and Payathonsu at a distance of about three daing; on the South West over against the lands of Tonkun on one side so far as the Okhnèbin high road by Nyaungbintha, Thayatdaing cho and the Thebyu chaung at a distance of about 10000 (ta?), on the West at a distance of about 10000 (ta?) over against the lands of Zewadi on one side so far as Kywèmaku, Kyauklongyi and Thepala fishery; on the North West over against the land of Katkypeyaungpya so far as In thonbin, the Yèlè stream and Athawi; on the North at a distance of about 10000 (ta) so far as the land of Kyaukkyi katkyi; on one side and so far as Yetagun and Maing thè; on the North East at more than 10000 (ta?)

distance over against the lands of Zimme on one side so far as the Loma-tikyauk hills.

Within these eight boundaries the cultivators pay as revenue on every yoke of buffalo 10 baskets of paddy, for (that eaten by) rats one basket, for the sustenance of the governor one basket, for the keeper of the granary one basket, for the scribes of the granary two baskets, for the sustenance of the thugyi one basket.

Those who work fisheries pay a main revenue two tickals of pure silver a head; those who fish with drag nets pay a subsidiary revenue of five tickals on each net; those who work with hand nets one tickal of silver a head. For wood oil those who tap the trees near the top pay one tickal, those who tap near the bottom two tickals. The cultivators of miscellaneous cultivation and hill land pay two tickals on every axe; on cultivated trees there is a revenue of two per cent; on every two tickals of main revenue there is one tickal for the governor and two tickals for the writers. This is the revenue paid at the toll posts round the outside of the town; the vendors of betel nut, ivory, wax, pigeons pay two tickals of pure silver on every hundred viss of weight as main revenue and one "mu" to the writers of the toll posts, on salt and ngapi for every bamboo load six "mu" are paid and to the writers of the toll posts one mu.

The Karens who work taungyas pay five baskets of paddy on every compartment of their household.

In the reign of Sinbyushin Paya paddy had not to be made over to the royal hands, for every five baskets of paddy one tickal of pure silver was reckoned as the price; for every ten tickals of main revenue there was one tickal for the governor and two "mats" for the writers. It was the custom to present the revenue to the myosa if there be a Myosa; if there is no Myosa it has to be paid into the treasury at Toungoo. The Karens who pay a revenue of betel nut pay 370 (viss) of betel nut a year, the governor receives 37, the keeper 37 and the writer 18.50, the treasurer 18.50 and those who wait beside the door two viss. It is the custom for the myosa to collect the revenue and present it to the proper person. If there is no Myosa the Akunwun of Toungoo and the writers of the Revenue have to collect it and present it. The heads of the buffaloes and cattles have to present to the royal officials one half of the fees of justice.

I submit this with the deposition of Nga Su Taung the thugyi of Kyaukmaw.

The Record of Kyaukmaw Township 64.

The examination of Nga Su Taung, born on the first day of the week, aged 46, the thugyi of Kyaukmaw Township of Kyaukkyi taken on the 15th waning of Waso in the year 1164.

My great grand father Nga Thaw Ta U was the governor of Kyaukkyi-Kyaukmaw Township, when he was no more Nga Chit Thwe his son was governor, when he was no more his son Nga Kyaw U was governor, when he was no more his son Nga Che O was governor. Nga Che O

not being brave and unable to perform his duty handed it over and I his son had to present and submit the account for 45 and become the governor. Because the Thanseik village thugyi Pyanchi kyawswa submitted in 45 his village list as if it were Kyaukmaw Town it was the custom for him to possess the seal and formal letters of appointment as thugyi of Kyaukmaw Township. When Pyan Chi Kyawswa died I was appointed thugyi of Kyaukmaw Township his son and hereditary successor Nga Tha Ywè making over the seal and letters of appointment to me; and I have been in charge over it with the seal and letters of appointment. Nga Tha Ywè the son of Pyan Chi Kyawswa was appointed thugyi of Than Seik village with a seal and letters of appointment.

These are the boundaries of Kyaukmaw Township of Kyaukkyi; on the East at a distance of 50000 "tas" it borders on the lands of Zimmè on the other side of the Thanlwin valley; on the South East at a distance of 30000 "tas" it borders on the lands of Yunzalin Township on the other side of Peinbinme sauffg stream and south of the Dathwe Chauk Chauk Chan; on the South at a distance of 10000 tas it borders on the lands of Shwegyin in Donzayit Township on the other side of the valley of the Inpalwè and the three pagodas at the Yondaing fishery; on the South west at a distance of 10000 tas it borders on the lands of Kawliya Township on the other side of Nyaung bintha valley and the Matauk stream, Inwa stream and Pyuntaza Yènwe stream; on the West at a distance of 15000 tas it borders on the land of Toungoo on the other side of the valley of the Banlaung stream, Kywè ma ku fishery and Kyauklongyi zaha; on the North at a distance of 11000 tas it borders on the territory of Toungoo Township on the other side of the sinuous line of the Yaukpawa stream and Kyet taik nyaung bin Kalathe; on the North East at a distance of so far as 10005 tas it borders on the lands of Toungoo Township on the other side of the valley between the high hills of Kyauklongyi Thayeto and Pawlaw at the end of Mèzwa stream and the Yaukthawa chaung bya. Within these eight boundaries the cultivators with buffaloes pay a revenue of ten baskets of paddy on each yoke of buffaloes, for the elder one basket, for the governor one basket, for the writer two tickals of silver, for the guardians one tickal of silver. The cultivators of gardens and hillside for each dama pay two "mats." The workers of fisheries by baling pay two tickals of silver a head, the workers of drag nets pay two tickals of silver on each net; the workers with casting nets for each casting net pay one tickal of silver.

At the toll places round the outside of the town it is the custom to pay two tickals of silver for every hundred (viss) of goods either ivory, wax, lead or betel nut; the toll keeper receives two mu, the writer one mu; for goods it is the custom to pay two mat for every bamboo load.

The minor revenue on betel fruit is 1600; the land revenue of the Karens is 350, for each revenue the elder receives two tickals of silver, the writers five tickals, the guardian two tickals and two mat. For the tolls of justice and the minor officials over the elephants and horses and buffaloes and cattle it is the custom for me to be the appellate court and one half is paid to the myosa, and I the thugyi receive one half.

If there is no myosa one half of the tolls of justice and the revenue in money and betel has to be paid in to the royal treasury.

This is the deposition of Nga Su Taung the thugyi of Kyaukmaw Township.

The Record of Minyehla Township 46.

The examination of Letya Thuyein Kyaw Thu, the thugyi of Minyehla Township (born on the day 0 of the week, aged 57) taken on the 13th waxing of Kason 1146:
States—

The line of thugyis in Minyehla being lost sight of and come to an end in the year 1139 I cut the jungle and cleared the long grass and collecting (people) established (a settlement) and have been in charge over it and ruling it as thugyi.

These are the boundaries of Minyehla; on the East over against the lands of Kyaukmaw on the other side of the POUNG LOUNG stream at a distance of three daing; on the South East at a distance of three daing over against the lands of Shwegyin on the other side so far as the Swètalwè sandbank; on the South within 200 (tas) over against the land of Hanthawaddy so far as the other side of Kyu chaung; on the South West at a distance of five daing over against the lands of Hanthawaddy so far as the other side of Thayettaing Kyo tada pyat; on the West over against the land of Tonkan so far as the other side of the Minkanyo (canal of the governor's tank); on the North West over against the land of Ton Kan so far as the dividing of the Ye O and Yenwè streams at a distance of five daing; on the North at a distance of three daing over against the lands of Kyauk sayit so far as the other side of the Thèbyu stream; on the North East at a distance of three daing over against the lands of Kyauksayit so far as the other side of the opening of the large lake.

Within these eight boundaries as regards the cultivators on every yoke of buffalo they pay a main revenue of ten baskets of paddy; on account of that eaten by rats one basket, sustenance for the governor one basket, for the keeper of the granary one basket, for the writer of the granary two tickals of silver. The fishermen in the lakes pay two tickals of pure silver a head, for the governor two mu, for the watchman two mu, for the guardians of the treasury one mu, for the writers one mu.

The gardeners (Kaing) for every dama pay as the royal main revenue the value of two mat of silver.

If there is a myosa it is the custom to present the revenue to the myosa, if there is not it has to be paid in to the royal Treasury at Toungoo.

The profits from the fees of justice taken by those in official position it is the custom for half to be paid to the officials of the myosa; and if there is none to pay them in to Toungoo court. This is submitted with the deposition of Letya Thu yein Kyaw Thu, the thugyi of Minyehla Township.

The Record of Minyehla Township 64.

The deposition of Nga Eik Ban thugyi of Minyehla Township a part of Kyaukmaw Township, aged 35, born on the 1st day of the week: Sir;

Nga Shwe Ok, the son of Letyu Thuyein kyaw Thu, who presented the royal accounts of Minyehla Township in 46, came together with me before the thugyi and writers of the head township and made to me in the Yegyi Hludaw by a written deed his seal and orders of appointment and the formal Transference of his office. Therefore according as he has given over to me the letter of appointment which are in my possession I am in charge over it.

These are the boundaries of Minyehla Township: on the East at a distance of 3000 tas it borders on the lands of Thanseik village beyond the valley of the Paunglaung river; on the South East at a distance of 3000 tas (it lies) over against the lands of Shwegyin beyond Swelwema-tauk, on the South it borders on the lands of Kawliya so far as the other side of Pyuntaza at a distance of 2000 tas; on the South West at a distance of 5000 tas it borders on the lands of Hanthawaddy so far as the Thayet kainggyo tada pya.

The Record of Lagunbyin Township, 1164.

The Record of the examination of Nga Talut; birthday, 6, age 70, Myothugyi of Lagunbyin: taken on the 10th waxing of Tawthalin, 1164, B. E.:—

These are the boundaries of my charge, Lagunbyin Township; on the east it borders on Mawlon Township along the line of the Thanthenge stream, on the south east so far as the mouth of the Lagunbyin Channel, it borders on Zwebon Township across the Pegu River, on the south so far as the Ayein stream it borders on the Ma-U Township, on the west so far as the Ayein stream it borders on the same Township, on the north west it borders on the Mahura land, on the north so far as Wayi, Wakhayan and Peinne-taw it borders on the Hantha-Zainganeim land, on the north east so far as We-hla it borders on the Hantha-Zaing-aneim land.

Including all residents within these boundaries and not omitting a single house or hut there are 124 households, 391 households of their offspring, both together 63 houses, male and female adults 57, boys 43, girls 20; all four together 171. I submit a detailed list.

The Record of Kyauksayit Township, 1145.

The Record of the examination of Nga Byaw, the Kyauksayit Myo-thugyi, birthday, 5; age 45; taken on the 13th waxing of Kason, 1146:—

My great grandfather Nga Ne Hman was governor of Kyauksayit Myo, after his death his son Zeya Aung was governor; after his death his son Nga San Bwin; after his death, I, his son, Nga Byaw, have succeeded and am in charge.

The boundaries of Kyauksayit Myo are as follows:—

On the east for about five daing so far as the old Kyauktan stream it borders on the Kyaukmaw land; on the south east for about 6000 ta so far as the Mabi In, Inlaung-bya and Migyaung-yok it borders on the Kyaukmaw land; on the south for about 3 taing so far as the Kaikbauk Channel, the Pebin Pagoda and Thitsibin Hill it borders on the land of Minye-hla Township; on the south west for about 1000 ta so far as Paya thon-su, and Thayet Kaing-kyo, it borders on the Ton-khan land; on the west for about 5 taing so far as the main road of the Gwe camp it borders on the Ton khan land; on the north west for about 14,000 ta so far as Kywemaku and Kyauk ta lon it borders on the Zeyawaddi land; on the north for about 10,000 ta so far as Thit-khaung-bin-kwa and Kanyindaing it borders on the Zeyawaddi land; on the north east for about 10,000 ta so far as the Nga Twe Sok In, Myet-ye In and Naunggon it borders on Katkye land.

Taxes on cultivation are as follows:—

Miscellaneous vegetable gardens pay revenue of two mat of yuet-ni silver for each dah; rice land cultivation pays ten baskets of paddy for each yoke of oxen, with a cess of one basket for destruction by rats, one basket for the governor, one basket for the store keeper, two byis for the store clerk, two byis for the cost of the granary. Fishermen pay two tolas of silver a head as revenue, two mu for the governor, two mu for the treasure guard, two mu for the treasurer, one mu for the treasury clerk.

If there is a Myo-sa, the revenue is paid to the Myo-sa, if there is no Myo-sa the revenue is paid into the Royal Treasury and Granary at Toungoo. The Myo-sa pays half the Court Fees and commission to the State; if there is no Myo-sa they are paid in to the Court at Toungoo.

The deposition and account of Kyauksayit Myothugyi, Nga Byaw.

The Record of Kyauksayit Myo, 1164.

The Record of the examination of Nga Shwe U; birthday, 5, age 30, Myothugyi of Kyauksayit in Kyaukmaw; taken on the 15th waning of the 1st Waso 1164:—

My great grate-grand-father, Nga Ne Hman, was Governor of Kyauksayit Myo, after his death my great-grand-father Nga San Bwin; after him my grand-father, Zeya Aung, after him my father Nga P'yaw, after him, I, his son, Nga Shwe U, have succeeded and am in charge.

The following are the boundaries of Kyauksayit Myo:—

On the east it borders on the Kyaukmaw land for a distance of 5000 ta so far as the old Kyauktan stream; on the south east for about 6000 ta so far as Migyaung-yok and the upper reaches of the Mabi In it borders on the Kyaukmaw land, on the south for about 1000 ta so far as the Peyathon-su and Thayetkaing-kyo it borders on the Ton khan land, on the west for about 5000 ta so far as the Main Road of the Gwe camp it borders on Tonkhan land, on the north west for about 10,000 ta so far as Kywemagu and Kyauklon it borders on the Zeyawaddi land, on the north for about 1000 ta so far as Thitkaung-bin-khwa and Kanyindaing it borders on Zeyawaddi

land, on the north east for about 10,000 ta so far as the Nga Twe Sok In and Myet ye In and Naunggon it borders on Katkye land.

Within these boundaries taxes on cultivation are as follows:—

Miscellaneous vegetable cultivation pays two mat of yuet-ni silver in revenue for each dah; rice land cultivation pays ten baskets of paddy in revenue for each yoke of buffaloes, with a cess of one basket for destruction by rats, one basket for the governor, one basket for the store keeper, two byi for the store clerk, two byi for the cost of the granary. Fishermen pay in main revenue two tolas of silver per head, for the Governor two mu, for the treasure guard two mu, for the treasurer two mu, for the treasury clerk one mu. If there is a Myo-sa the revenue is paid to the Myo-sa; if there is no Myo-sa it is paid into the Royal Treasury and Granary. The Myo-sa pays half the Court Fees and Commission to the State, if there is no Myo-sa they are paid into the Royal Treasury.

The deposition and accounts of the Kyauksayit Myothugyi Nga Shwe U.

The Record of Kyaung bya Yaw-mindat.

The Record of the examination of the Kyaung bya Yaw-min: dat Thugyi, Nga Pyu, birthday 5, age 58, taken on the 13th waxing Kason 1146 B. E.:—

My grandfather Nga Chit Hla was governor of Kyaung-bya Yaw-min:dat Myo; after his death his son Nga Thet she was governor; when Nga Thet She being incapacitated through old age gave over charge I succeeded.

The following are the boundaries of Kyaung-bya Yaw-min:dat Myo:—

On the east for a distance of 1 thaung 4 daing so far as Ayodaunggyi and Sattaralumu it borders on the Zimme land, on the south east for a distance of 1 thaung so far as Yetagun it borders on Katkye land, on the south for 5 daing so far as Kyauk-thon-lon-che and Chaung-bauk it borders on Katkye land, on the south west for 5 daing so far as Myet-ye In, Peyangok-to Sepale-in-thon-bin it borders on Kyauksayit land, on the west for 8 daing so far as Kanyindaing-in-gyi it borders on Zeyawadi land, on the north west for about 8 daing so far as Ok-p'yat, Kyet-taik, K'on-nyin-dan and the Kala-the Chaung-bauk it borders on Bwe-daing land, on the north for 1 thaung so far as the line of the Mekwa chaung it borders on Me-malan land.

Taxes are as follows:—

One yoke of oxen pays 10 baskets of main revenue, taungyas pay 2 baskets and 2 byi. On main revenue of 10 baskets there is a cess for destruction by rats of 1 basket, for the governor 1 basket, for the writer 2 byi, for the store keeper 1 basket, for the store writer 2 byi, for the office 2 byi, for weaving (the granary) 1 basket, on timber a revenue of one in ten, on new boats a revenue of one in ten; miscellaneous cultivation pays two mat per dah, wood oil tappers pay 1 viss for tapping high, 2 mat for tapping low; people working a fishery with a bund pays two tolas a head, with a trap pay one tola a head in main revenue on main

revenue of ten tolas there is a cess for the governor of 1 tola, for the writer of 2 mat, for the asaung 1 tola, for the treasurer 2 mat.

If there is a Myo-sa the revenue is paid to the Myo-sa; if there is no Myo-sa the revenue is paid into the royal granary and royal treasury at Toungoo. The Karens who pay on betel nut pay 200 nuts as revenue with 20 for the Myosa, 10 for the writer, 20 for the saung, 20 for the store keeper, 10 for the treasurer, 2 for the store keeper.

If there is a Myosa the Myosa pays the revenue to the proper authorities, if there is no Myosa the akunwun and revenue clerks of Toungoo pay it. The Myosa receives half the court fees and commission, if there is no Myosa it is paid into the Toungoo Court.

The deposition and accounts of the Kyaung:bya Yaw-min: dat Thugyi.

J. S. F.

ရမ္မာဝတီမြို့ ၆၄ ခုစစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခု။ ဒုတိယဝါဆိုလပြည့်ကျော် ၂ ရက်နေ့တွင်။ ရမ္မာဝတီမြို့သို့ကြီး ငခဲ။ နံ။ ဝ။ အသက် ၃၇ ရွယ်သူကိုမေးသော်။ ချက်။ ကျွန်တော်ကြီးစိုးတိုင်ဆော် စီရင်ရသည့်။ ရမ္မာဝတီမြို့ နယ်မြေသည်။ ရှေးရခိုင်စားမင်းခမောင်မင်းရာဇာ။ စန္ဒသူဓမ္မရာဇာ။ အဘယမဟာရာဇာတို့လက်ထက်။ ဝိုင်းခြားကွက်မှတ်ပေးသည်။ ရမ္မာဝတီတို့ နယ်မြေ။ အရှေ့ကို လားသော် ၃ တိုင်ခန့်ကွာ။ ကာလိန်ဒါ တောင်။ မြစ်ပင်လယ်ရေရိုးထိ။ တဘက် ခွါရာဝတီမြို့ စီရင်စု။ လမ္ပတန်းလွဲမြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ အရှေ့တောင်ကိုလားသော် တသောင်းခန့်ကွာ။ စကုကျွန်း။ မကျည်းကျွန်းအလွန် ပင်လယ်ရေရိုးထိ။ တဘက်ခွါရာဝတီမြို့မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ တောင်ကိုလားသော် ၆ တိုင်ခန့်ကွာ။ ပင်လယ်ရေရိုးထိ။ တဘက်မေဃဝတီမြို့ မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ အနောက်တောင်ကိုလားသော် ၈ တိုင်ခန့်ကွာ။ ပင်လယ်ရေရိုးထိ။ တဘက် မေဃဝတီမြို့စီရင်စု။ ကြက်ရိုးသစ် ပုံမြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ အနောက်ကိုလားသော် ၈ တိုင်ခန့်ကွာ။ ပင်လယ်ရေရိုး သင်္ဘောလမ်းထိ။ အနောက်မြောက်ကိုလားသော် တသောင်းခန့်ကွာ။ ပင်လယ်ရေရိုး သင်္ဘောလမ်းထိ။ မြောက်ကိုလားသော် ၂ သောင်းခန့်ကွာ။ ကျွန်းသာယာကျွန်း။ ကျွန်းချောင်းကျွန်းအလွန်သည် ကြမ်းမြစ်ရေရိုးထိ။ တဘက်ညောင်တီစီရင်စု။ မြေပုံကျက်စင်မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ အရှေ့မြောက်ကိုလားသော် တသောင်းငါးတိုင်ခန့်ကွာ။ အမ်းဝမြစ်ရေရိုးထိ။ တဘက်ခွါရာဝတီမြို့ စီရင်စု။ အမ်းမြေနှင့် ကြောခိုင်း။ နယ် ၄ ရပ် ၈ ရပ်သတ်မှတ်သည် အတွင်း။ မြို့မ ဝ။ တံရွာ ဝ။ ကျောက်ချောက်ရွာ ဝ။ ကံတိုင်ရွာ ဝ။ ကံတော်ရွာ ဝ။ ကင်းရွာ ဝ။ ဇင်ချောင်ရွာ ဝ။ မင်းရပ်ရွာ ဝ။ သင်ချောင်းရွာ ဝ။ အလယ်ချောင်းရွာ ဝ။ ယန်ပေါက်ရွာ ဝ။ ယန်ဘက်ရွာ ဝ။ ယန်မြင်ယရွာ ဝ။ လေးတောင်ရွာ ဝ။ သံတောင်ရွာ ဝ။ ညောင်ပင်လှရွာ ဝ။ မယားစိမ်းရွာ ဝ။ ကျွန်းချောင်းကျွန်းသာရွာ ဝ။ မြို့ချောင်းရွာ ဝ။ ကျောက်လက်ရွာလယ်ပေါင်း ၂၀ ရှိပါသည်။ ၎င်းအနက် မြို့မနယ်မြေသည်။ အရှေ့ကိုလားသော် ၃ တိုင်ခန့်ကွာ။ ကာလိန်ဒါတောင် မြစ်ရေရိုးထိ။ တဘက်ခွါရာဝတီမြို့မြေစီရင်စု။ လမ္ပတန်းလွဲမြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ အရှေ့တောင်ကိုလားသော် တတိုင်ငါးရာတွင်းခန့်ကွာ။ တိန်ချောင်းထိ။ တဘက်ဟုန်ရွာအဝင် သင်ပန်ကိုင်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ တောင်ကိုလားသော် ၃ တိုင်ခန့်ကွာ။ ကျောက်ခေါင်းမြို့ တောင်ကုန်းထိ။ တဘက် ကျောက်ချောက်ရွာအဝင်။ လက်ပံပင်မြေနှင့် အစပ်။ အနောက်တောင်ကို လားသော် ၃တိုင်ခန့်ကွာ။ နားဘက်စည်တောင် ကျောက်တက်လိပ်ထိ။ တဘက်ယံသက်ရွာအဝင် ချောင်းမြို့မြေနှင့် အစပ်။ အနောက်မြောက်ကိုလားသော် ၂ တိုင်ခန့်ကွာ။ ကုလားသတ် ကုန်းထိ။ တဘက်ယံပေါက်ရွာမြေနှင့် အစပ်။ မြောက်ကိုလားသော် ၂ တိုင်ခန့်ကွာ။ မြင်တောင်ကုန်းဝက်ရပ်ကျောက်လုံးထိ။ တဘက်ယံသက်ရွာမြေနှင့် အစပ်။ အရှေ့

ငွေဒင်္ဂါးတပြား အခွန်ငွေဒင်္ဂါး ၇၄ ပြား။ ။ မြို့စီရင်စုနယ်အတွင်း ကျေးရွာနေလူတို့ လုပ်ဆောင်သည့်ပဲခင်း မှာ ၁၂ တောင်ဝါးနှင့် အလျား ၁၀ ပြန့် အနံ ၃၀ ကီဝါးတာ ၃၀ ပြန့် ငွေဒင်္ဂါး ၁ ပြား၊ ပိုက်ဆံခင်းလုပ်သူတို့ မှာ ၁၂ တောင်ဝါးနှင့် အလျား ၁၀ ပြန့် အနံ ၁၀ ပြန့်ကို ဝါးတာ ၁၀၀၀ ပြန့် ငွေဒင်္ဂါး ၁ ပြား။ ။ ဆေး လုပ်သူတို့မှာ ၁၂ တောင်ဝါးနှင့် အလျား ၁၀ ပြန့် အနံ ၃ ပြန့် ဝါးတပြန်လျှင် ၁ တောင်ဝါးချင်းနှင့်သိ၍ ဆေး ၂ သိက္ခာ။ သားပျိုသမီးပျို အိမ်သင့်လျှင် ကြေးနန်း ၂ ပြား။ ။ ကျောင်းဘုရားဝတ်မြေ ကွဲတရှည်လုပ် မျိုးဝင်စိတ်တောင်း ၄၀ ကြံကို ငွေဒင်္ဂါး ၁ ပြား။ နတ်ဝင် နတ်ပသ ကိုးကွယ်သူတို့က နတ်စာခံလျှင် ငွေဒင်္ဂါး ၁ ပြား။ ။ မြို့ဝန် အခွန်ဝန်အရာရှိတို့က။ ခန့်ထားတောင်းခံလျှင် ပေးရပါသည်။ လယ်လုပ်သူတို့မှာ ကွဲတ ရှည်လုပ်လျှင် မြန်မာတင်း ၃ တင်းကျ ရမ္မာဝတီမြို့ ကျိတော်မှာ ချင်သွင်းရပါသည်။ ။ လှေမှာ မြို့ဝန်အရာရှိ တို့က မြို့ရွာအသုံးရှိလျှင်ရအောင် ၇ လံ ၀ လံ ၉ လံများကို ရပ်ရွာသူကြီးတို့မှာ တောင်၍လုပ်ဆောင်ထားရ ပါသည်။ ။ ကျွန်တော်တိုင်ဆောင်ကြီးစိုးအုပ်ချုပ်စီရင်ရသည်။ ရမ္မာဝတီမြို့နယ်အတွင်း မြို့ထွက်မြို့ဝင်သင်္ဘော ဆိပ်ကင်း ၁ ရှိပါသည်။ ။ ၎င်းပြင်ထုံးအင်းအိုင် ဆိပ်တည်ကုတို့မရှိပါ။ ။ ရမ္မာဝတီမြို့သူကြီးငါး အစစ်ခံထွက် ဆိုချက်ဘုရား။ ။

ဇွဲသုံမြို့ ၆၄ ခုစစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခု တော်သလင်းလဆန်း ၁၀ ရက်နေ့။ ဇွဲသုံမြို့သူကြီး ငခံမှတ်။ နံ ၃။ အသက် ၅၀ သူ အစစ်တော်ခံချက်။ ကျွန်တော်စီရင်ရသည့်ဇွဲသုံမြို့နယ်သည်။ အရှေ့အလား သပြေချောင်းထိ။ ဒင်းမဲမြို့မြေ နှင့်အစပ်။ တောင်အလား ဝင်လေချောင်းတဘက် သံလျင်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်တောင်အလား ဒေစပ်အ စိုင်ချောင်း သံလျင်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်အလား ပကိုးမြစ်တဘက် လကွန်းပျဉ်မြို့ မော်မြိုင်မြို့မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ မြောက်အလား ဒေလစည်ဘုရားထိ။ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့ မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ နယ် ၄ ရပ်သတ်မှတ်သည့်အတွင်း။ နေ ထိုင်သမျှလူတို့ကို။ တတ်တအိမ်မကျန်။ အိမ်ခြေ ၄၃၄။ သားသမီး ကျေးကျွန်တိုးပွားအိမ် ၁၃၅၅။ ၂ စုအိမ် ၁၀၀၉။ ကျားကြီး ၁၃၅၅။ မကြီး ၁၅၇၄။ ကျားငယ် ၉၂၇။ မငယ် ၈၃၃။ ၄ စုဦးရေ ၄၇၁၇ ကိုစာရင်းကျယ် စာရင်းချုပ် ရေးသား၍တင်ဆက်ပါသည်စာရင်းဘုရား။ ။

စစ်တောင်းမြို့ ၄၅ ခုစစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၄၅ ခု။ နတ်တော်လပြည့်ကျော် ၈ ရက်နေ့။ အခါတော်အတိုင်း စစ်တောင်းမြို့သူကြီး စံ။ ဟံသာဝတီရောက် ခမည်းတော်လက်ထက် ကြီးစိုးစီရင်သည်။ မရှိရှင်ဘာစသိုင်း။ ဟံသာဝတီရောက် ခ စ။ ဟံသာဝတီရောက် ခမည်းတော်လက်ထက် ကြီးစိုးစီရင်သည်။ မရှိရှင်ဘာစသိုင်း။ ဟံသာဝတီရောက် ခ မည်းတော် လက်ထက်တော်ကသည်။ အလောင်းမင်းတရားကြီး လက်ထက်တော်တိုင် ကြီးစိုး စီရင်သည်။ ကျွန်တော်မယား ကျွန်တော်တို့။ ဘုရားရှေ့လက်ထက်တော်တိုင် ကြီးစိုးစီရင်သည်။ ကျွန်တော်မယား ကျွန် တော်တို့ ကြီးစိုးစီရင်နက်။ စစ်တောင်းမြို့နယ်သည် အရှေ့ကိုလားသော်တာ ၃၀၀၀ ကွာ ကြိုက်ထီးရိုးတောင် အချားမဲပုတ်။ မဲပလယ်။ ယွန်စလင်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ တောင်ကိုလားသော်တာ ၃၀၀၀ ကွာ လကွန်းစီရင် ချောင်းထိ။ တဘက်ပင်လယ်။ အနောက်ကိုလားသော်တာ ၃၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ။ အိန္ဒသိရိရွာအနောက် ကျခတ် ၃ ပင်ထိ။ ဘကိုးမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ မြောက်ကိုလားသော် တာ ၅၀၀၀ ခန့်ကွာ။ ကျပ်ကူချောင်းအခြား ပကိုးမြေ နှင့်အစပ်။ သည်နယ် ၄ ရပ်အတွင်း ကြိုက်ထီးရိုးဘုရားဝတ်မြေ မိမိရွာကို ခေါ်ဆိုသမှတ်သည်ကိုသာ ကြား ဘူးပါသည်။ နယ်နမိတ် ပိုင်းခြားသတ်မှတ်၍ အစစ်မခံနိုင်ပဲ။ ကိုင်း၊ ကျွန်း၊ အုန်းထန်။ ဆိပ်တည်ကုတို့မရှိ ပါ။ ဥယျာဉ်မှာ မိုးပေါ်ကရင်တို့။ ကွမ်းသီးကွမ်း ဥယျာဉ်ရှိပါသည်။ ကွမ်းသီးကွမ်း အခွန်တော်မဆက်ရ။ ၎င်း ကရင်တို့က။ တနှစ်လျှင် တအိမ်ဘာယောင်း ၅ ဆက်ရသည်။ ဘယောင်းဆက်နိုင်လျှင် ဆင်စွယ် ၂၅၀။ ဆင် စွယ် မဆက်နိုင် လျှင် အခွန်တော်ငွေ ရွံနီ ၆ ခံ။ မြို့စား ရှိလျှင် မြို့စားသို့ ဆက်ရသည်။ မြို့စား မရှိလျှင် ရန်ကုန်အခွန်ဝန် အခွန်စာရေးတို့မှာ ဆက်ရသည်။ ၎င်းနယ်အတွင်း လဟာကြီးအင်း ၁။ လဟာငယ်အင်း ၁။ ၎င်းအင်းမှာ အခွန်ရှင်လုပ်သူ။ နံရံတိုးခကြီးတို့ကိုချနတ်၍။ ကန်လုပ်သားတို့မှာ တကိုယ်လျှင် အခွန်တော်ငွေ

ရွှေနီ ၂၂° ပေးဆက်ရသည်။ ရှေးစာ ဝံ။ ဝန်စား ဝံ။ ပို ဝံ လည်းပေးရသည်။ အပေါ်ဝန်အကောက်အစားတရား ကွမ်းဘိုး။ ကျွတ် နွားဝင် ဆင်သေမြင်းမတ် ကျွန်ဝင် မြင်းဝင်များမှာ။ မြို့စားရှိလျှင် မြို့စားကအစီရင်ခံ၍။ စီရင် သိမ်းခံသည်။ မြို့စားမရှိလျှင် ရန်ကုန်မြို့ဝန် စစ်ကဲတို့က စီရင်ရေစစ် သိမ်းခံသည်ထွက်ဆို။ ။ ၎င်းစစ်ခံသည့် နယ်အတွင်း။ သိမ်စရပ်ရွာ။ ကြိုတင်ရှာများသည် လူမရှိ။ ၄၅ ခုစာရင်းမသွင်းရ။ ၆၄ ခုစာရင်းတော်လည်း လူမရှိ၍ မဆက်မသွင်းရပါဘုရား။ ။

ဒင်းမဲမြို့ ၆၄ ခုစာတမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခု။ တော်သလင်းလဆန်း ၁၀ ရက်နေ့။ ဒင်းမဲမြို့ မြေတိုင်ဝရာ။ နံ ၅။ အသက် ၇၀ သူ အစစ်တော်ခံချက်။ ကျွန်တော်မယားမိခင်သိုင် ဘေးဝလက်ပက်ကြီးစိုးသည်။ မရှိလျှင်သားဝလက်ပုံကြီးစိုး သည်။ မရှိလျှင်သားဝတိုကြီးစိုးသည်။ မရှိမရှိလျှင်ဝတိုကိုသမီး ကျွန်တော်မယား မိခင်သိုင် ကျွန်တော်တို့ ဘေး ဘိုးဘအရာကိုဆက်ခံ၍ ဒင်းမဲမြို့ကို ကြီးစိုးတိုင်ဆောင်သည်။ ဒင်းမဲမြို့နယ်သည်။ အရှေ့အလား စစ်တောင်းမြစ် တဘက်။ ကြိုက်ကသာမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ တောင်အလား အမလောရိုးထိ။ ဇွဲ ဘုံမြို့ မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက် အ လား သပြေချောင်းဝဇွဲ ဘုံမြို့မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ မြောက်အလား ကြိုက်ပိုင်ကျုံဘုရား ဟံသာဝတီမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ နယ် ၄ ရပ်သတ်မှတ်သည်အတွင်း။ အိမ်ခြေဦးရေ နေထိုင်သမျှ တအိမ်တစာမကျန် ၃၀။ ပွားတိုးအိမ် ၁၃၉။ ၂ စု အိမ် ၁၇၇။ ကျားကြီး ၁၃၇။ မကြီး ၁၇၁။ ကျားငယ် ၁၃၄။ မငယ် ၈၈။ ၄ စုဦးရေ ၅၂၀ ကို စာရင်းကျယ် စာ ရင်းချုပ်ရေးသား၍ တင်ဆက်သည့်စာရင်းဘုရား။ ။

ကျောက်မော်မြို့ ၄၅ ခုစာတမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၄၆ ခု။ ကဆုန်လဆန်း ၁၃ ရက်နေ့။ ကျောက်မော်မြို့သူကြီး ငဆုတောင်။ နံ ၁။ အ သက် ၂၀ သူကိုမေးသော်။ ဆိုသည်ကျောက်မော်မြို့နယ်သည်။ အရှေ့ကိုတသောင်းခန့်ကွာ။ သတွင်မြစ်ထိ။ တဘက်ဇင်းမယ်မြေနှင့် ကြောခိုင်။ အရှေ့တောင်ကို ၅ တိုင်ကွာ ကျောက်ချမ်းတောင်ပိန်ပင်မဲစောင်ထိ။ တ ဘက်ရှေ့ကျင်မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ တောင်ကို ၈ တိုင်ခန့်တိုင်။ ဘုရားသုံးဆူ ရုံတိုင်အင်ဆွဲ သလွဲခံတောင်ထိ။ တ ဘက်ရှေ့ကျင်မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ အနောက်တောင်ကို တသောင်းခန့်ကွာ။ ညောင်ပင်သာ သရက်တိုင်ကျုံ သဲ ဖြူချောင်းအနက်နယ် မင်းလမ်းထိ။ တဘက်တံခွန်မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ အနောက်ကိုတသောင်းခန့်ကွာ။ ကျွဲမကူ ကျောက်လုံးကြီး သေပလအင်ပင်ထိ။ တဘက်ဇေဝတီမြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ ။ အနောက်မြောက်ကို အင်ဥပင် ရေလဲချောင်း အသဝိထိ။ တဘက် ကပ်ကျေပြောင်ပြာမြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ ။ မြောက်ကိုတသောင်းကွာ။ ရေ တခွန်ခိုင်သယ်ထိ။ တဘက် ကျောက်ကြီးကပ်ကျေးမြေထိ။ အရှေ့မြောက်ကို တသောင်းကျော်ကွာ။ လိုမတိ ကျောက်တောင်ထိ။ တဘက်ဇင်းမယ်မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ နယ် ၈ ရပ်အတွင်း လုပ်သားတို့မှာ။ ကျွဲတရဉ်လျှင် ခွန်စပါး၁၆။ ကြက်၁။ ဝန်စား၁။ ကျီစိုး၁။ ကျီရေ၂။ သူကြီးစား၁။ အင်းသည်လုပ်သားသူတို့မှာ။ တကိုယ် လျှင်ခွန်မရွှေနီငွေ ၅။ ပိုက်လုပ်သူတို့မှာ။ ခွန်သေတနှစ်လျှင် ပိုက်တဘောင် ၅။ ကျွန်လုပ်သူတကိုယ် ၃။ သေစွေး ခွန်အထက်ထိုး ၃။ အောက်ထိုး ၂။ ကိုင်းရာခွန် ထားမတစင်းလျှင် ၂။ သစ်ရင်ခွန်လည်း ၁၀ စီလျှင် တစီ။ ခွန် မ ၁၆ လျှင်။ ဝန်စား ၃။ ရှေးစား ၂။ နယ်တွင်းမြို့ပါ ဝိုင်းကင်းမှာ။ ကွမ်းသီး ဆင်စွယ် ဘရောင်းစို ရောင်းပယ် သည်များကို။ အချိန်တရာလျှင် ခွန်မရွက်နီ ၂။ ကင်းကိုင်းရေ ၁။ ဆားငါးပိမှာ။ ထိုးဝါးတလုံးလျှင် ၆။ ကင်း ကိုင်းကင်းရေ ၁။ ဆိပ်သောင်ခွန်ဆေးငွေ ရွှေနီ ၄၀။ တောင်ရာလုပ် ကရင်တို့မှာ။ တခမ်းလျှင် စပါး ၅ ထမ်း။ ဆင်ဖြူရှင်ဘုရား လက်ထက်တော်ကသည်။ လက်ထက်တော်တိုင်း စပါးမဆက်ရ စပါး ၅ အဘိုးငွေ ရွှေနီ ၃။ ခွန်မ ၁၀ လျှင် ဝန်စား ၃။ ရှေးစား ၂။ အခွန်ကို မြို့စားရှိလျှင် မြို့စားဆက်ရိုး။ မြို့စားမရှိလျှင် တောင်ငူတိုက် တော်မှာဆက်သွင်းရသည်။ ကွမ်းသီးခွန်ထမ်း ကရင်တို့မှာ တနှစ်လျှင် အခွန်တော် ကွမ်းသီး ၃၇၀။ ဝန်စား ၃၇။ အဆောင် ၃၇။ ရှေးစား ၁၈၅၀။ တိုက်စိုး ၁၈၅၀။ တံခါးနီ ၂။ အခွန်တော်ကို မြို့စားသိမ်းခံ၍ ဆိုင်ရာ ဘက်သွင်းရိုး။ မြို့စားမရှိလျှင်။ တောင်ငူအခွန်ဝန် အခွန်စာရေးတို့က သိမ်းခံဆက်သည်။ ကျွတ် နွားဝင် တ ရားကွမ်းဘိုး စီရင်ရသည်များကို အရာတော်တဝက် ဆက်သွင်းရသည်။ ကျောက်မော်မြို့သူကြီး ငဆုတောင် ထွက်ဆိုချက်နှင့် တင်ဆက်သည့်စာရင်း။ ။

ကျောက်မော်မြို့ ၆၄ ခုစစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခု။ ဝါဆိုလပြည့်ကျော် ၁၅ ရက်နေ့။ ကျောက်ကြီး ကျောက်မော်မြို့ သူကြီးစေတီတောင်။ နံ ၁။ အသက် ၄၆ သူကိုမေးသော်ဆိုသည်။ ကျောက်ကြီး ကျောက်မော်မြို့ကို ကျွန်တော်ဘေး ငသော်တာဦး ကြီးစိုးသည်။ မရှိလျှင် သားချစ်သွေ ကြီးစိုးသည်။ မရှိလျှင် သားငကျော်ဦး ကြီးစိုးသည်။ မရှိလျှင် သားငချေအိုကြီးစိုးသည်။ ငချေအို။ အိုမစွမ်း မဆောင်မရွက်နိုင်၍ လွဲအပ်လျှင် သားကျွန်တော် ၄၅ ခုနှစ် စာရင်းတော် ဆက်သွင်း ဆက်ခံ ကြီးစိုးသည်။ ၄၅ ခုနှစ် သံဆိပ် ရွာသူကြီး ပုံချီကျော်စွာက။ ရွာကို ကျောက်မော်မြို့ပြု၍ စားရင်းဆက်ပေး သောကြောင့်။ ကျောက်မော်မြို့ သူကြီးအရာ တံဆိပ်စာချွန်နှင့် တရားတဝ ရှိရသည်ကိုး ပုံချီကျော်စွာ သေလွန်လျှင်။ အရာခံသာ။ သားငရွာကျွန်တော်ကို ကျောက်မော်မြို့သူကြီးအရာ တံဆိပ်စာချွန်ပါ လွဲအပ်ချက်နှင့် ကျောက်မော်မြို့သူကြီး ခန့်တော်မူ၍။ တံဆိပ်စာချွန်တော်နှင့် ကြီးစိုးစီရင်သည်။ ပုံချီကျော်စွာသား ငသာရွာကိုလည်း သံဆိပ်ရွာသူကြီးခန့်တော်မူပါသည်။ ကျောက်ကြီးကျောက်မော်မြို့နယ်။ အရှေ့အလားတာ ၅၀၀၀၀ ကွာ သံလွင်အခြားတဘက် ဇင်းမယ်မြေအစပ်။ အရှေ့တောင် အလား ၃၀၀၀၀ ကွာ။ ထားသွေးကျောက် ကျောက်ချမ်းတောင်။ ဘိန်ပင်မဲစောင်ချောင်းအချား။ တဘက်ယွန်စလင်းမြို့မြေအစပ်။ အနောက်တောင် အလားတာ ၁၀၀၀၀ ကွာ။ ဘုရား ၃ ဆူရုံးတိုင်အင်း။ အင်းဘလွဲအချား။ တဘက် တံစရစ်မြို့ ရွှေကျင်မြေ အစပ်။ အနောက်တောင် အလားတာ ၁၀၀၀၀ ကွာ။ မထောက်ချောင်းအင်းစချောင်း ပြန်တဆာ ခဲနွဲ့ချောင်း ညောင်ပင်သာ အချားတဘက်။ ကောလိယမြို့မြေအစပ်။ အနောက်အလားတာ ၁၅၀၀၀ ကွာ။ ကျွဲမကူအင်း ကျောက်လုံးကြီး ဇဟာဘန်လောင်းချောင်း အခြားတဘက် တောင်ငူ မြို့နယ် အစပ်။ မြောက် အလားတာ ၁၀၀၀၀ ကွာ။ ကြက်တိုက် ညောင်ပင် ကုလားသေ။ ယောက်သဝချောင်း ကောက်ကောက် စင်းစင်းတဘက်။ တောင်ငူမြို့နယ်အစပ်။ အရှေ့မြောက် အလားတာ ၁၀၀၀၅ တိုင်ကွာ ယောက်သဝချောင်းခြား မဲခွါချောင်းဆုံ။ ကျောက်လုံးကြီး သရေတိုင်တောင်ကြီး။ နှင်ပေါလောတောင်ကြီးအချား။ တဘက် တောင်ငူမြို့မြေ အစပ်။ နယ် ၈ ရပ်အတွင်း လုပ်စားသည့် ကျွဲရွှံသားတို့မှာ ကျွဲတရှင်လျှင် အခွန်၁ဝိ ။ကြီးစာ ၁။ ဝန်စာ၁။ရေ ၂။ ဆော်၁။ ကိုင်းရာလုပ်သူတို့မှာ။ ထားမတစင်လျှင်ငွေ ၂ ။ အင်းဆည်လုပ်သူတို့မှာလူ ၁ လျှင်ငွေ ၂။ ပိုက်လုပ်သူတို့မှာ ပိုက်တဘောင်လျှင် ငွေ ၂။ ကွန်လုပ်သူတို့မှာကွန် ၁ လျှင် အခွန်ငွေ ၁။ သစ်ရင်ခွန် လည်းလေမှာ ၁၀ ရလျှင်တစ်။ အခွန်ငွေ ၁ဝိ ကိုကြီးစား ၁။ ဝန်စား ၁။ ရေ ၂ ။ ဆော် ၁။ ကောက်ခံရုံ။ မြို့ပိုင်ကင်းမှာ ဆင်စွယ်တယောင်းခဲချိန်။ ကွမ်းသီးကုန်အချိန် ၁၀၀ လျှင်အခွန်ငွေ ၂။ တိုင်စား ၂။ ရေ ၁။ တိုက်ကုန် ချိန်ကုန်ထိုးဝါးတလုံးလျှင်အခွန်ငွေ ၂ ။ ကောက်ခံရုံ။ ကွမ်းသီးအခွန်သေး ၁၆၀၀။ ကရင်မြေခွန် ၃၅၀။ အခွန် ၁ လျှင် ကြီးစား ၁ဝိ။ ရေ ၅။ ဆော် ၂ ။ ကောက်ခံရုံ။ စစ်ဝတ်ကွမ်းဘိုး။ ဘဏ္ဍာအရာ ဆင်သေမြင်းပါ ကျွဲဝင်နွားဝင်များမှာ။ ကျွန်တော်မြို့သူကြီးက စစ်ကြောစီရင်၍။ တဝက်ကိုမြို့စာ။ တဝက်ကို ကျွန်တော်မြို့သူကြီးတို့က စားယူရုံ။ မြို့စားမရှိလျှင် တဝက်ကွမ်းဘိုး စစ်ဝတ်များနှင့်။ အခွန်တော်ငွေ ကွမ်းသီးများကို တိုက်တော်မှာ ဆက်သွင်းရပါသည်။ ကျောက်ကြီး ကျောက်မော်မြို့သူကြီး စေတီတောင် ထွက်ဆိုသည်။ ။

မင်းရဲထွမြို့ ၄၆ ခုစစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၄၆ ခု။ ကဆုန်လဆန်း ၁၃ ရက်နေ့။ မင်းရဲလူ မြို့သူကြီး လက်ယာသုရိန်ကျော်သူ။ နံ ၀။ အသက် ၅၇ သူကို မေးသော်ဆိုသည်။ မင်းရဲလူသူကြီးရိုး မပေါ်မရှိ ပျက်ပြား၍ တောကြီးများ၍ကို ၁၁၃၉ ခုနှစ် ကျွန်တော်ခတ်တွင် သိမ်းသွင်းပြုစု၍။ သူကြီးအရာနှင့် ကြီးစိုးစီရင်သည်။ မင်းရဲလူနယ်မြေသည်။ အရှေ့ကို ၃ တိုင်ကွာ ပေါင်လောင်ချောင်းထိ။ တဘက်ကျောက်မော်မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ အရှေ့တောင်ကို ၃ တိုင်ကွာ ဆွဲတလွဲသောင်ထိ။ တဘက်ရွှေကျင်မြေနှင့်ကျောခိုင်း။ တောင်ကို ၂၀၀ တွင်းကွာကျချောင်းထိ။ တဘက်ဟံသာဝတီမြေနှင့်ကျောခိုင်း။ အနောက်တောင်ကို ၅ တိုင်ကွာ။ သရက်ကိုင်းကျ မံတားပြတ်ထိ။ တဘက်ဟံသာဝတီမြေနှင့်ကျောခိုင်း။ အနောက်ကို ၅ တိုင်ကွာ။ မင်းကန်ရိုးထိ။ တဘက်တုံခန်းမြေနှင့်ကျောခိုင်း။ အနောက်မြောက်ကို ၅ တိုင်ကွာ ရေခိုင်းခဲနွဲ့ ချောင်းခွယ်။ တဘက် တုံခန်းမြေနှင့် ကျောခိုင်း။ မြောက်ကို

၃ တိုင်ကွာ။ သဲမြို့ချောင်းထိ။ တဘက်ကျောက်စရစ်မြေနှင့်ကျောခိုင်း။ အရှေ့မြောက်ကို ၃ တိုင်ကွာအင်းကြီး
ဝထိ။ တဘက်ကျောက်စရစ် မြေနှင့်ကျောခိုင်း။ နယ် ၈ ရပ်အတွင်း လုပ်သားတို့မှာ။ ကျွဲတရှည်လျှင် ခွန်မစပါး
၀။ ကြက်စာခံ ၀နံစာ ခံ။ ကျီ စီးခံ။ ကျီရေ ၂။ အင်းလုပ်တကိုယ်လျှင် ခွန်မရွက်နီ ၂။ ၀နံစာ ၂။ အဆောင် ၂။
တိုက်စိုး ၁။ ရေစား ၁။ ကိုင်းလုပ်လူ ထားမတစင်းလျှင် ခွန်မတော်ငွေ ၂ ထမ်း။ အခွန်ကိုမြို့စားရှိလျှင် မြို့
စားမှာ ဆက်သွင်းရ။ မြို့စားမရှိလျှင် တောင်ငူကျီတော် တိုက်တော်မှာ ဆက်သွင်းရသည်။ အပေါ်ဝန် အ
ကောက်အစား တရားကွမ်းဘိုး စီရင်ကောက်စား ရသည်များကို မြို့စားမှာအရာတော်တဝက် ဆက်သွင်းရ။
မြို့စားမရှိလျှင် တောင်ငူရုံးမှာ ဆက်သွင်းရသည်။ မင်းရဲလှမြို့သူကြီး လက်ယာသူရိန်ကျော်သူ ထွက်ဆိုချက်
နှင့် တင်ဆက်သည့် စာရင်း။ ။

မင်းရဲလှမြို့ ၆၄ ခုစစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခု။ ပဌမဝါဆိုလပြည့်ကျော် ၁၅ ရက်နေ့။ ကျောက်မော်မြို့အဝင်။ မင်းရဲလှမြို့သူကြီး
အိမ်ပန်း။ နံ ၁။ အသက် ၃၅ သူကို စစ်အစစ်ခံချက်ဘုရား။ မင်းရဲလှမြို့ကို ၄၆ ခုနှစ်စာရင်းတော်ကြီး စိုးဆက်
သွင်းသူ။ လက်ယာသူရိန်ကျော်သူသား ငရွှေအုပ်တို့က မြို့မသူကြီး မြို့စားရေးတို့ရွှေ။ စာချုပ်နှင့် တံဆိပ်စာချွန်
တော်ပါ အရာကိုလွှဲအပ်ချက်နှင့် ရေကြည်လွှတ်တော်မှာ လက်ယာသူရိန်ကျော်သူသား ငရွှေအုပ်တို့ စုံညီလွှဲ
အပ်သည် အတိုင်း လက်ရှိ စာချွန်တော် ပေးအပ်၍ ကြီးစိုးသည်။ မင်းရဲလှမြို့ နယ်မြေသည်။ အရှေ့ကို တာ
၃၀၀၀ ကွာ ပေါင်လောင်မြစ် အခြားတဘက် သံဆိပ်ရွာမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အရှေ့တောင်ကိုတာ ၃၀၀၀ ကွာ ဆွဲ
လွှဲမထောက် တဘက်ရွှေကျင်မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ တောင်ကိုတာ ၂၀၀၀ ပွန်တစာထိ။ တဘက်ကောလိယမြေ
နှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်တောင်ကိုတာ ၅၀၀၀ ကွာ။ သရက်ကိုက်ကျီတံတားပြီထိ။ တဘက် ဟံသာဝတီမြေ အ
စပ်။ အနောက်ကိုတာ ၅၀၀၀ ကွာ မင်းကန်ရိုးထိ။ တဘက် တုံခံမြေနှင့် အစပ်။ အနောက်မြောက်ကို တာ
၅၀၀၀ ကွာ ရေရဲခွဲချောင်းထိ။ တုံခံမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ မြောက်ကိုတာ ၃၀၀၀ ကွာ သဲမြို့ချောင်းထိ။ တဘက်
ကျောက်စရစ် မြို့မြေအစပ်။ အရှေ့မြောက်ကို တာ ၃၀၀၀ ကွာ အင်းကြီးဝထိ။ တဘက်ကျောက်စရစ် မြို့မြေ
အစပ်။ နယ် ၈ ရပ်တွင်း လုပ်သား တို့မှာ ကျွဲတရှည်လျှင် အခွန်စပါးခပ် ၁။ ကြက်စာခံ ၁။ ကျီ စီးခံ
ကျီစာရေး ၂။ အင်းလုပ်သူ တကိုယ်လျှင်။ ခွန်မငွေရွက်နီ ၂။ ၀နံစာ ၂။ အဆောင် ၂။ တိုက်စိုး ၁။ စာရေး
၁။ ကိုင်းလုပ်သူ ထားမတစင်းလျှင် အခွန်တော်ငွေ ၂ ထမ်း။ အခွန်ကိုမြို့စားရှိလျှင် မြို့စားမှာ ဆက်သွင်းရ။
မြို့စားမရှိလျှင် တိုက်တော် ကျီတော်မှာ ဆက်သွင်းရပါသည်။ အပေါ်ဝန် အကောက်အစား တရားကွမ်းဘိုး
စီရင်ရသည်များကို အရာတော်တဝက်သွင်းရ။ မြို့စားမရှိလျှင်တိုက်တော်မှာ ဆက်သွင်းရပါသည်။ ကျောက်
မော်မြို့အဝင် မင်းရဲလှမြို့ကြီး အိမ်ပန်းထွက်ဆို အစစ်ခံချက် တင်ဆက်သည့် စာရင်းဘုရား။ ။

လကွန်းပျည်းမြို့ ၆၄ ခုစစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခု။ တော်သလင်းလဆန်း ၁၀ ရက်နေ့။ လကွန်းပျည်းမြို့သူကြီးဝတလွတ်။ နံ။ ၆။ အ
သက် ၇၀ သူအစစ်တော်ချက်ဘုရား။ ကျွန်တော်ကြီးစိုးစီရင်ရသည့်လကွန်းပျည်းမြို့နယ်သည်။ အရှေ့အလား
သံသဝယ်ချောင်း။ ကောက်ကောက်စင်းစင်းမော်လုံမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အရှေ့တောင်ကိုလားသော် လကွန်းပျည်း
မျောင်းဝထိ။ တကိုယ်မြစ်တဘက် ဇွဲဘုံမြို့မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ တောင်ကိုလားသော် အရိန်ချောင်းထိ။ မအူမြို့မြေနှင့်အ
စပ်။ အနောက်ကိုလားသော် အရိန်ချောင်းအထိ။ ၎င်းမြို့မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်လားသော် အရိန်ချောင်းထိ။
၎င်းမြို့မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်မြောက်ကိုလားသော်။ မဟူရာမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ မြောက်ကိုလားသော်။ ၀။ ၁။ ရေရဲ
ပန္နတောထိ။ ဟံသာဝတီကန်မြို့မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အရှေ့မြောက်ကိုလားသော်။ ၀လွယ်။ ဟံသာဝတီကန်မြို့မြေနှင့်
အစပ်။ နယ် ၈ ရပ်သတ်မှတ်သည့်အတွင်း နေထိုင်သမျှကိုတအိမ်တတဲ မကြွင်းမကျန်အိမ်ခြေ ၁၂၄။ တိုးပွား
အိမ် ၃၉၁။ ၂၈အိမ် ၆၃။ ကျားကြီး မကြီး ၅၇။ ကျားငယ် ၄၃။ မငယ် ၂၀။ ၄၈ဦးရေ ၁၇၀ ကို စာရင်းကျယ်
ရေးသား၍တင်ဆက်ပါသည်။

ကျောက်စရစ်မြို့ ၄၅ ခုစစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၄၆ ခု။ ကဆုန်လဆန်း ၁၃ ရက်နေ့။ ကျောက်စရစ်မြို့သူကြီး ငမောင်၊ နံ။ ၅။ အသက် ၄၅ သူကို မေးသော် ဆိုသည်။ ကျောက်စရစ်မြို့ကို ကျွန်တော် ဘေးငန့်မုန်းကြီးစိုးစီရင်သည်။ မရှိလျှင်သား ဇေယအောင် ကြီးစိုးစီရင်သည်။ မရှိလျှင်သား ငစံပွင့်ကြီးစိုးစီရင်သည်။ မရှိလျှင်သား ကျွန်ငန့်တော်ဆက်ခံကြီးစိုးစီရင်သည်။ ကျောက်စရစ်မြို့နယ်သည်။ အရှေ့ကို ၅ တိုင်ကွာ ကျောက်တန်းချောင်းဟောင်းထိ။ တဘက်ကျောက်မော်မြေ နှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ အရှေ့တောင်ကို ၆ မသိအင်း။ အင်လောင်ပျားမိကျောင်းရပ်ထိ။ တဘက်ကျောက်မော်မြေနှင့် ကြောခိုင်း။ တောင်ကို ၃ တိုင်ကွာ ကိုက်ပေါက်မြောင်ပင်ဘုရားသစ်စွဲပင်ကုန်းထိ။ တဘက်မင်းရဲလှမြို့မြေနှင့် ကြောခိုင်း။ အနောက်တောင်ကို ၁၀၀၀ ကွာဘုရား ၃ ဆူသရက်ကိုကျီထိ။ တဘက်တုံခန့်မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ အနောက်ကို ၅ တိုင်ကွာ ကွေတပ်မင်းလမ်းထိ။ တဘက်တုံခန့်မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ အနောက်မြောက်ကို ၁၀၀၀၀ ကွာ။ ကွဲမကူကျောက်တလုံးထိ။ တဘက်ဇေယဝတီမြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ မြောက်ကို ၁၀၀၀၀ ကွာ။ သစ်ခေါင်း ပင်ကွာညောင်တိုင်ထိ။ တဘက်ဇေယဝတီမြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်း။ အရှေ့မြောက်ကို ၁၀၀၀၀ ကွာ။ ငထွေရက်အင်း မျက်ရဲအင်း နောင်ကုန်းထိ။ တဘက်ကပ်ကျေးမြေနှင့် ကြောခိုင်း။ နယ် ၈ ရပ်အတွင်း လုပ်ဆောင်သူတို့မှာ။ ကိုင်းလုပ်သူ ထားမတစင်းလျှင်။ ခွန်မဋ္ဌရွက်နီ ၂ ။ လယ်လုပ်လူကွဲတရှည်လျှင် ခွန်မစပါး ၁ ပါ။ ကြွက်စား ၁ ပါ။ ဝန်စား ၁ ပါ။ ကျီစိုး ၁ ပါ။ ကျီရေ ၂ တန်နီ ၂ တန်း။ အင်းသည်လုပ်သူတို့မှာ တကိုယ်လျှင် ခွန်မဋ္ဌ ၂ ။ ဝန်စား ၂ ။ အဆောင် ၂ ။ တိုက်စိုး ၂ ။ တိုက်ရေ ၁ ။ တန်း။ အခွန်ကို မြို့စားရှိလျှင် မြို့စားမှာ ဆက်သွင်းရိုး၊ မြို့စားမရှိလျှင် တောင်ငူတိုက်တော် ကျီတော်မှာ ဆက်သွင်းရသည်။ အပေါ်ဝန်အကောက်အစားတရားကွမ်းဘိုးကောက် စားစီရင်ရသည်များကို။ မြို့စားမှာ အရာတော်တဝက်သွင်းရိုး၊ မြို့စားမရှိလျှင် တောင်ငူရုံးမှာ ဆက်သွင်းရသည်။ ကျောက်စရစ်မြို့သူကြီး ငမောင်ထွက်ဆိုချက်နှင့်တင်ဆက်သည်စာရင်း။

ကျောက်စရစ်မြို့ ၆၄ ခုစစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခု။ ပဌမဝါဆိုလပြည့်ကျော် ၁၅ ရက်နေ့။ ကျောက်မော်မြို့ အဝင်။ ကျောက်စရစ်မြို့ သူကြီး ငရွှေခို၊ နံ။ ၅။ အသက် ၃၀ ကိုစစ်မေးသော် ထွက်ဆိုချက်ဘုရား။ ကျောက်စရစ်မြို့ကို ကျွန်တော်ဘီငန့် မုန်း ကြီးစိုးစီရင်ပါသည်။ မရှိလျှင်။ ဘေးငန့်ပွင့်ကြီးစိုးစီရင်ပါသည်။ မရှိလျှင်ဘိုးငစရအောင်စီရင်သည်။ မရှိလျှင် ဘငဖျော်ကြီးစိုးစီရင်သည်။ မရှိလျှင် သားကျွန်တော်ငရွှေခိုဆက်ခံကြီးစိုးသည်။ ကျောက်စရစ်မြို့နယ်မြေသည် အရှေ့ကို တာ ၅၀၀၀ ကွာ ကျောက်တန်း ချောင်းဟောင်းထိ။ တဘက်ကျောက်မော်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အရှေ့ တောင်ကို တာ ၆၀၀၀ ကွာ မဘီအင်းလောင်ပျား မိကျောင်းရပ်ထိ။ တဘက်ကျောက်မော်မြေနှင့် အစပ်။ တောင်ကို တာ ၁၀၀၀ ကွာဘုရား ၃ ဆူသရက်ကိုကျီးထိ။ တဘက်တုံခန့်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်ကို တာ ၅၀၀၀ ကွာ ကွေတပ်မင်းလမ်းထိ။ တဘက်တုံ ခန့်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်မြောက်ကို တာ ၁၀၀၀၀ ကွာ ကွဲမကူကျောက်လုံးထိ။ တဘက်ဇေယဝတီမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ မြောက်ကို တာ ၁၀၀၀ ကွာ သစ်ခေါင်းပင်ခွ က ညောင်တိုင်ထိ။ တဘက်ဇေယဝတီမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အရှေ့မြောက်ကို တာ ၁၀၀၀၀ ကွာ ငထွေရက်အင်းမြက်ရဲ အင်းနောင်ကုန်းထိ။ တဘက်ကျောက်ကြီးကပ်ကြေးမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ နယ် ၈ ရပ်အတွင်းလုပ်ဆောင်သူတို့မှာ။ ကိုင်းလုပ်သူ ထားမတစင်းလျှင်ခွန်မရွက်နီ ၂ ။ လယ်လုပ်လူကွဲတရှည်လျှင်အခွန်စပါး ၁ ပါ။ ကြွက်စား ၁ ပါ။ ဝန် စား ၁ ပါ။ ကျီစိုး ၁ ပါ။ ကျီစားရေ ၂ ။ တန်နီ ၂ ။ တန်း။ အင်းသည်လုပ်သူတို့မှာ တကိုယ်လျှင် ခွန်မဋ္ဌ ၂ ။ ဝန်စား ၂ ။ အဆောင် ၂ ။ တိုက်စိုး ၂ ။ တိုက်စားရေ ၁ ။ တန်း။ အခွန်ကို မြို့စားရှိလျှင် မြို့စားမှာ ဆက်သွင်းရိုး၊ မြို့စားမရှိ လျှင်။ တိုက်တော်ကျီတော်မှာ ဆက်သွင်းရပါသည်။ အပေါ်ဝန်အကောက်အစားတရားကွမ်းဘိုးစီရင်ရသည် များကို။ မြို့စားအရာတော်တဝက်သွင်းရိုး၊ မြို့စားမရှိလျှင် တိုက်တော်မှာ ဆက်သွင်းရပါသည်။ ကျောက်စရစ်မြို့ သူကြီး ငရွှေခိုထွက်ဆိုအစစ်ခံချက်တင်ဆက်သည်စာရင်းဘုရား။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၄၆ ခု။ ကဆုန်လဆန်း ၁၃ ရက်နေ့။ ကျောင်းပြားယောင်မင်းတပ် သူကြီးငြိမ်းနိုး ၅။ အသက် ၅၀ သူကြီးစစ်မေးသော်ဆိုသည်။ ကျောင်းပြားယောင်မင်းတပ်မြို့ကို။ ကျွန်တော်ဘိုးချစ်လှကြီးစိုးသည်။ မရှိလျှင် သားသက်ရှည် ကြီးစိုးသည်။ သက်ရှည်အိုမစွမ်း၍။ လွှဲအပ်လျှင်။ သားကျွန်တော်ငြိမ်းဆက်ခံ ကြီးစိုးစီရင်သည်။ ကျောင်းပြားယောင်မင်းတပ်နယ်သည်။ အရှေ့ကိုတသောင်း ၄ တိုင်ကွာအရိတောင်ကြီးဆတ္တရလူမူတီထိ။ တဘက်ဇင်းမယ်မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ အရှေ့တောင်ကိုတသောင်းကွာရေတခွန်ထိ။ တဘက်ကပ်ကြေးမြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ တောင်ကို ၅ တိုင်ကွာကျောက်လုံးချေထိချောင်းပေါက်ထိ။ တဘက်ကပ်ကြေးမြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ အနောက်တောင်ကို ၅ တိုင်ကွာ။ မျက်ရဲအင်းဘုရားငုတ်တို ဆေးပလဲအင်း ၃ ပင်ထိ။ တဘက်ကျောက်စရစ်မြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ အနောက်ကို ၄ တိုင်ကွာ။ ကညင်တိုင်အင်းကြီးထိ။ တဘက်ဇေယဝတီမြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ အနောက်မြောက်ကို ၈ တိုင်ကွာ။ အုတ်ဖြတ်ကျက်တိုက်ခုံညင်းထန်းကုလားသေချောင်းပေါက်ထိ။ တဘက်ဘွဲ့တိုင်းမြေနှင့်ကြောခိုင်။ မြောက်ကိုတသောင်းကွာ။ မည်ခွါချောင်းကောက်ကောက်စင်းစင်းထိ။ တဘက်မည်မလံမြေနှင့် ကြောခိုင်။ နယ် ၈ ရပ်အတွင်း လုပ်ဆောင် သူတို့မှာ။ ကွဲတရှည်လျှင်ခွန်မစပါး ၁၀။ တောင်ရာမှာ ၂၂။ ခွန်မ ၁၀။ လျှင်ကြက်စာ ၁၀။ ခန့်စာ ၁၀။ ရှေးစား ၂။ ကျီစိုး ၁၀။ ကျီစိုး ၂။ ရှေးမှာ ၂။ တင်နှီး ၁၀။ သစ်ရင်ခွန် ၁၀။ စီလျင် ၁၀။ လှေသစ်ခုပ်လူတို့မှာ ၁၀။ လျှင် ၁၀။ ကိုင်းလုပ်ထားမတစင်းလျှင် ၂။ သစ္စေးထိုးသူ။ အထက်ထိုး ၁၀။ အောက်ထိုး ၂။ အင်းစည်လုပ်ဆောင်သူတို့မှာ။ တကိုယ်ခွန်မ ၂။ ဆောင်းလုပ်လူတကိုယ် ၁၀။ ခွန်မ ၁၀။ လျှင်။ ဝန်စား ၁၀။ ရှေးစား ၂။ အဆောင် ၁၀။ တိုက်စိုး ၂ တမ်း။ အခွန်ကိုမြို့စားရှိလျှင် မြို့စားမှာဆက်ရိုးမြို့စားမရှိလျှင်တောင်ငူကိုတော်တိုက်တော်မှာဆက်သွင်းရသည်။ ကွမ်းသီးထမ်းကရင်တို့မှာ။ အခွန်တော်ကွမ်းသီး ၂၀၀။ ဝန်စား ၂၀။ ရှေးစား ၁၀။ အဆောင် ၂၀။ ကြီးစား ၂၀။ တိုက်စိုး ၁၀။ တံခါးနီ ၂ တမ်း။ အခွန်တော်ကိုမြို့စားရှိလျှင်မြို့စားက ဆိုင်ရာဆက်သွင်းရိုးမြို့စားမရှိလျှင်။ တောင်ငူအခွန်ဝန် အခွန်စာရေးတို့ကဆက်သွင်းသည်။ အပေါ်ဝန်အကောက်အစားတရားကွမ်းသီးကောက်စားစီရင်ရသည်များကို။ မြို့စားမှာတဝက်ဆက်သွင်းရသည်။ မြို့စားမရှိလျှင်တောင်ငူရိုးမှာဆက်သွင်းရသည်။ ကျောင်းပြားယောင်မင်းတပ် သူကြီးငြိမ်းဆက်ဆံချက်နှင့်တင်ဆက်သည်စာရင်းဘုရား။

WUNTI NAT.

Nat worship prevailed in Arakan from the earliest times. Abundant references are made to it in all our literature. But for some mysterious reason, no particular mention is made of the name of either a god or a goddess. They were, however, divided into two classes. One looked after the household and family, and the other presided over the affairs of the kingdom. Thus, in all personal matters, household deities were consulted. Kings received their guidance from the other kind on the eve of any important political movement. No journey could be undertaken nor an army raised without the previous approval and sanction of the special deities.

The earliest mention we have of the name of one of this latter class is that of *Wunti*, whose worship first began with King Pai Pyu of Wesali in the tenth century. It is recorded that, with her assistance, this king succeeded in driving out the Shans who poured into the country from the north-east. So to commemorate the event, he called the place of operation Myauk-U, and set up and dedicated a temple to her worship.

From this time, her name disappears from history, though her worship must still have continued. Several centuries later, in the days of the Myauk-U Kings, she once more occupied a conspicuous place. But this time she was no longer at the above named city, but near a village on the left bank of the Yochaung, a considerable stream that feeds the Kaladan on the right. Until

quite recently, there was a dolmen there will remembered by a number of people of the locality. Regarding the special rites and ceremonies attached to her worship, nothing is definitely known; but there is a very quaint tradition concerning one of her exploits in the cause of King and country.

During the prosperous reign of Min Pha Laung in Arakan, Bureng Naung, the ruler of Pegu, harboured the ambitious design of invading Arakan. With that end in view, he sent ambassadors to the Court of Akbar, who had just then conquered Bengal. The main object of this mission seems to have been to find out the Mughal attitude towards his contemplated project of conquest. Min Pha Laung being aware of this, and, in order to make the requisite preparations to defend his country, consulted the goddess Wunti regarding the coming struggle.

She replied that it was unnecessary for a powerful King like himself to go to all the trouble and expense of raising an army, but that, when nations were at war, the opposing deities, like the Homeric gods, first engaged themselves in conflict and decided the fate of the contending armies beforehand. She told the King that she had a brother, who guarded the palace of the Burmese King, and that she would go over there to see what she could do to serve him (the King of Arakan).

With her numerous followers, she arrived at the palace of Bureng Naung at about midnight. She not only found the whole palace wrapped in slumber, but also came across her brother keeping guard at the principal entrance to the building. After an exchange of greetings and an artful display of simulated affection, she requested her brother's permission for a glimpse of the sleeping King, whose military exploits had been the wonder and admiration of the age. The necessary consent being obtained, she entered the Royal Chamber, and, standing at the head of the bed for a moment, she raised her five fingers above the recumbent King. She then returned to Arakan with all her followers rejoicing.

On the following morning, five large carbuncles appeared round the neck of the Burmese King, from the effects of which he subsequently died. Thus, through her timely intervention, Arakan was saved from all the attendant horrors of a foreign invasion which, even if it proved unsuccessful, would have brought considerable ruin and misery to the country.

SAN SHWE BU.

THE ARI OF BURMA AND TANTRIC BUDDHISM.

BY CHAS. DUROISELLE.

[*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1915-16.*]

Within fifteen pages Mr. Duroiselle has packed an immense quantity of information—mainly a lucid summary of all we know as yet (from Burmese, Ceylonese, Tibetan and other sources) of the religious history of Burma down to Anawrahta. It was he of course, who is said to have crushed the Ari heretics. The following passages, often alluded to in the article, have been translated from the *Hman-nan* for the convenience of English readers.

Ch. 127. "Now the farmer [Saw-raham fl. 931-964 A.D.] became king and was great in glory and power. At his cucumber-plantation he made a large and pleasant garden, and he wrought and kept a great image of Naga. He thought it good thus to make and worship the image of Naga because Naga was nobler than men and his power greater. Moreover he consulted the heretical Shin Ari regarding the Zigon pagodas in the kingdom of Yathepyai [i.e. Prome] and Thaton, and he built five pagodas—Pahto-gyi, Pahtongè, Pahto-thamya, Thinlin-pahto, Seitti-pahto. In them he set up what were neither Nat images nor images of the Lord, and worshipped them with offerings of rice, curry and fermented drinks, night and morning. He was known as Nattaw-kyaungtaga-minchantha. Now ever since the beginning made by Shin Punna the Elder in the lifetime of the Lord omniscient, throughout the reigns of the dynasties in the Burmese kingdoms of Tagaung, Tharehketara [i.e. Prome]. Arimaddana and Thiripyissaya [i.e. Pagan] there flourished the *paramattha* Order, the *samuti* Order, the sacred writings, their study and intitution. But afterwards the religion gradually grew weak from the reign of king Thaiktaing [fl. 516-523 A.D.] founder of the city of Tampavati [i.e. Thamahti] and because there was no Pitaka or sacred writ, only the views of the Thamahti Ari lords were in general adopted, and in the reign of King Saw-raham the king and the whole country took these views."

Ch. 130. "Now the kings at Pagan for many generations had been confirmed in false opinions, following the doctrine of the thirty Ari lords and their sixty thousand pupils who practised piety in Thamahti. It was the fashion of these Ari monks to reject the Law preached by the Lord and to form each severally their own opinions. They wrote books after their own heart and beguiled others into the snare. According to the law they preached, a man might take the life of another and evade the course of *Karma* if he recited the formula of deprecation;¹ nay, he might even kill his mother and his father and evade the course of *Karma* if he recited this formula of deprecation.¹ Such false and lawless doctrine they preached as the true doctrine. Moreover kings and ministers, great and small, rich men and common people, whenever they celebrated the marriage of their son or daughter, had to send them to these teachers at nightfall, sending, as it was called, the flower of their virginity. Nor could they be married till they were set free early in the morning. If they were married without sending to the teachers the flower of their virginity, it is said that they were heavily punished by the king for breaking the custom."

Ch. 113. "Seeing that the people had been fondly clinging to the doctrine of the Ari lords for thirty generations of kings at Pagan. Anawrahtaminsaw, fulfilled with virtue and wisdom, rejected the rank heresies of the Ari lords and adopted the precepts of Shin Arahan . . . whereupon the Ari lords, in order that the people might believe their doctrine, made manuscripts² to suit their purpose and place them inside a *tha-hkut*

¹ ဝနဝေ (Pali Paritta). Mr. Duroiselle translates this "Sutta." Why?

² Mr. Duroiselle would probably say such manuscripts were written in Sanskrit. But in what script?

tree, and when the *tha-hkut* tree became covered with scales and bark, they sought and seduced fit interpreters of dreams and made them read and publish the manuscripts found in the *tha-hkut* tree, so that the king and all the people misbelieved."

Ch. 131. "The noble saint, Shin Araham, having come to Pagan ministered to the religion. When the king and all the people forsook their own opinions and were established in the good law, the Ari lords lost their gain and honour and bore great hatred against Shin Araham. And the king fearing that the Ari would practise ill against him, took heed and appointed guards enough to defeat the thirty Ari lords and their sixty thousand followers. At that time there came many saints and novices from Thaton, and Shin Araham made saints and ghostly counsellors of those who were faithful in the religion. And the king unfrocked the thirty Ari lords and their sixty thousand followers and enrolled them among his spearmen and lancers and elephant-dungswEEPERS. And the king said 'Our royal grandsires and great grandsires who ruled this kingdom in unbroken line, accepted the views of the Ari monks. If it were good to accept them again, I would fain accept them!' So fain was he, it is said."

The chief problem in regard to these Ari has been whether their heresy was of Buddhist origin or not, and how far Indian or autochthonous. Mr. Duroiselle finds that "they were a Buddhist sect, belonging to the Northern School, who came to Pagan from Bengal or Northern India about the VI century.....They ministered to the superstitions of the people, and were the priests of the Naga and Spirit-worship then prevalent in the land, and officiated at the bloody sacrifices connected with this indigenous worship.....They were about the VIII century profoundly influenced by Tantrism.....They did not disappear in the XI century after Anorata's persecution."

We have not space to follow out his argument step by step, but the newest and most interesting part is certainly that concerning the frescoes at Minnanthu, a village four miles east of Pagan. Visitors to Pagan rarely roam so far, though it is as near Nyaung-u as Pagan. Mr. Taw Sein Ko's useful guide-book contains no reference to the spot, except to the Damayazika on the outskirts. But it is certainly worth a visit. It is true there are only two temples of a size comparable to the Gawdawpalin—the Thitsawadi and Tayokpye, the former at least well worthy of conservation; but the chief artistic interest lies undoubtedly in the frescoes, to which there is nothing comparable in Pagan itself either for design, technique, or good preservation, not to speak of their historical importance. Besides the rich interior frescoes, the elaborate external plaster-mouldings entitle more than a score of these pagodas, varying greatly in size, to Government protection. Their appeal is very different from that large emotion of the greater temples of Pagan. They are mostly chapels of luxury, wayside oratories, where one may steal a moment from the rush of life and crowd one's eyes and concentrate the mind amid a thousand pictures of the seated Buddha.

I trust this digression will be forgiven me. Mr. Duroiselle naturally lends emphasis to that quality in the frescoes which concerns his argument—their occasional indecency; but it would be a pity if they were suddenly

dismissed with that harsh name. Indecent or not?—it is surely little but a question of terms and tastes when we judge anything so old. Mr. Duroiselle's horror of the Nandamañña frescoes I cannot help thinking overdrawn. I saw but one small figure possibly open to exception, and though the Nandamañña is a tiny shrine, this figure no more disturbed my piety than do the naughty choir stalls in Worcester cathedral. At the end of his article Mr. Duroiselle gives some excellent illustrations of the Payathonzu frescoes. Few things in Minnanthu will be found more voluptuous than these, and even they occupy but a small space compared to the more orthodox expressions of religious piety. Their freedom and unconventionality of style, the breadth and beauty of their floral patterns are well illustrated, and I need only add that the very difficult task of designing frescoes suitable for frieze, panel and dado, the soffits and spandrels of the arches, the varied planes and angles of corners and ceiling groined or barrel, so as to leave no space uncovered and yet no sign of monotony or muddle, has been in many cases admirably handled.

Who did this frescoes, and when? The Ari, thinks Mr. Duroiselle; and gives a not quite convincing argument as to the date (between 1112 and 1130) of the Nandamañña, and argues that the others similar in character are of similar date. The figures shown in the frescoes look anything but Burmese. Mr. Taw Sein Ko can perhaps tell us if they are Pyu. They certainly have often beards and moustaches, and noses always of an excruciating sharpness. Thamahti, the home of the Ari, is not far from Minnanthu, and the whole neighbourhood has almost as many ruined brick monasteries as pagodas. The monasteries have suffered most, their roofs nearly always having fallen, but they have great variety of cupola and interior design, and should yield important historical material on a close investigation.

Mr. Duroiselle's account of the complex nature of the Ari heresy is no doubt sound. His estimate of the influence of Mahāyanism, Nāga and local Nat-worship, Tantrism, Vishnu and Siva, is stated in each case with excellent clearness and discretion. It is indeed an admirable article, full of facts with just enough of theory to make them elastic, and a breadth of learning one may well envy in the author.

G. H. L.

BURMESE NOVELS—7.

Maung Min Gyaw Vathu, Part I—Mandalay, Tampadipa Press, 4th November, 1905.

This novel must have been written to rival *Maung Hmaing*. Maung Min Gyaw, the hero, is not inferior to Maung Hmaing in all the arts required to captivate the hearts of young girls. The doings of two heroes are so similar that one might easily take the place of the other without affecting the action of the stories. The language of *Maung Min Gyaw*, however, is more uniform throughout. Indeed the author has made no attempt to distinguish the speeches of the different wives of the hero.

Whether she be a Mandalay Court lady or a plain-spoken Moulmein girl, whether she be born of half-Indian parentage or Chinese extraction, Maung Min Gyaw's lady-love is perfectly at home in the niceties of mixed prose and verse. The sentences are too involved for an easy narration; and the paucity of paragraphs adds to the difficulty of quick perception.

There is another point of difference: the women of Maung Min Gyaw are a less rowdy lot than Maung Hmaing's wives.

Editor.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

RECEIVED SINCE DECEMBER 1918, Vol. VIII, Part III.

The Indian Antiquary, a journal of oriental research—June, July 1918 (Vol. XLVII, pts. DXCVI and DXCVII).

Journal of the East India Association, new series, Vol. X, No. 1, January, 1919.

A Collection of "Sakrava"—Songs improvised on certain occasions in presence of H. M. King Chulalongkorn.

A Sermon, being a Translation of Sabbasāmaññānusāsani and Ukkatthapatipadānusāsani from the Pāli into Siamese, by Somdet Phra Sangharaj Pussadeb.

A Sermon, being a Translation of Dhammadāyādasutta from the Pāli into Siamese, by Somdet Phra Sangharaj Pussadeb.

A Sermon: being a Translation of Culatanhāsankhyasutta, translated from the Pāli into Siamese, by Somdet Phra Sangharaj Pussadeb.

A Sermon, being a Translation of Āyācanasutta, translated from the Pāli into Siamese, by Somdet Phra Sangharaj Pussadeb.

A Sermon, on the Duties of Sovereigns illustrated by some examples taken from the History of Siam, by Prince Paramanujit Jinoros.

Eighteen Ancient Moral Proverbs with Commentary.

The Inscriptions of Wat Rajapradit, composed by H. M. King Mongkut.

Sāratthasamuccaya: a commentary on Buddhist Prayers, translated from the Pāli into Siamese.

Solasapanha, translated from the Pāli into Siamese, by Somdet Phra Sangharaj Pussadeb, 4 parts.

History of the Holy Image, called Phra Buddha Sihing.

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Nang Chintarā, an episode from the Drama "Inao," by Krom Phra Rajavang Pavara Vijaiyajan Second King of Siam.

A Collection of Travels, Part I.

The Jātakas, or Stories, of the Buddha's Former Births, translated from the Pāli into Siamese, Book I, Vol. 3, 4, (2 parts) and 5; Book III, parts I, 4 and 5.

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THE WRITING OF BURMESE HISTORY.*

The
Importance
of History,
especially at
the present
day.

This is not a learned lecture, but a simple address whose sole object is to arouse interest. It is very necessary just now to arouse interest in the past, because we live in a great age—at least it is an age which we can make great, and you especially can help to make it great. All of you here are picked men, and when you leave this College and go out into life, you go as leaders. Some of you will be chosen as the King's men, as officers, to take up the sacred trust of bearing rule over your own people. That is a privilege denied to the rest of us, to serve and lead our own people; but it is a privilege given to you. The greater, therefore, is your responsibility; the more, therefore, is it right and proper that you, above all men, should look into the Mirror of the Past, to see its glories and its shames, and take guidance from its successes and its failures. In the beauty of old time you will find an ideal for the future.

Origin of the
Burmese
Race.

The present Mongolian inhabitants of Burma came down in successive waves at some unknown period. Perhaps the earliest wave were the Mon. They live in Siam; and in Burma from the Delta downwards—say everywhere south of Henzada. North of Henzada up to Bhamo, the real land of Burma was taken up by later waves, traditionally known as the Pyu, Kanran and Thet. Where did the Mon, the Pyu, the Kanran and the Thet come from? Some people say they came from the Gangetic Plain in Bengal from which they were slowly driven out in the course of centuries. That is a fascinating theory because it explains two things; first, why Burmans are to-day the Buddhist nation *par excellence*; and second, why Buddhism is dead in Northern India, the land of its birth. Burmans are the Buddhist nation *par excellence* because it is among them that Buddhism was born when they dwelt in Northern India—they are the race which gave birth to Buddha. Buddhism is dead in Northern India because its originators, the Burmans, took it away with them when they migrated to Burma. If the Burmans are a Mongolian race, it is very curious that none of their traditions hark back to China or Mongolian things. All their traditions hark back to India. Even the names of their famous old towns are Indian names—just as European colonists in America call their towns London, Oxford and Toledo after their homes in Europe, so the Indian colonists called their towns Taxila, Vesali, Meiktila, and so on, after their homes in India. But this theory, that they came from Bengal and are a sort of Lost Tribes of Israel, is unsupported by facts. The mass of the Burmese are Mongolians who came from over the Himalayas, from the great Mongolian nest in Central Asia. They were yellow savages from Central Asia, and only their ruling classes, their top veneer of civilization, came from India; there is this much truth in the tale of their coming from Northern India, that the last wave, the Thet, were Sakyas from Bengal. Their surviving traditions are Indian because their own Mongolian tradi-

The Reason
why Burmese
Traditions
are Indian.

*Delivered at Rangoon College, on 27th Feb. and 6th March, 1919 and based on the Lecture at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Jubilee Hall, on 23rd January, 1919. A series of paintings of Pagan by Professor Ward, Mg. Ba Nyan, and Mg. Tha Htun, were on view; also five big wall-maps.—Editor.

tions died out; the only classes among them who could read and write and keep traditions alive, were their ruling Indian class, the Thet or Sakyas. If we want to know what the mass of the people were like, we have only to look at the wild Chins and other backward tribes to-day. They have progressed because they received civilization and a great religion from India.

Indian influence came through Tagaung and Thaton.

Indian influence came to Burma in two streams, one from the Aryan north of India, the other from the Dravidian south. The stream from the Dravidian south was from Telingana on the Coromandel Coast in Madras; it comes as a ruling race which established itself at Thaton and dominated the Mon. It is from these Telingana Kings that the savage Mon get their present name, "Talaing." Thaton is the Golden Chersonese of Ptolemy, the Alexandrian geographer, and the Thuwunna Bhumi or Golden Land of the Pali chronicles. What religion these Kings from Telingana brought to Thaton and at what period in the dim past they came, we do not know, but we do know that in 240 B. C. (the time of Asoka) there came from Ceylon to the Talaing capital of Thaton two missionaries Sona and Uttara, who introduced Buddhism. The stream from the Aryan north came from Kapilavastu in Oudh; in 800 B. C. men of the Thet or Sakya tribes which later produced Prince Siddharta, the Buddha, came to Tagaung. Tagaung is the Tugma of Ptolmemy. These Sakyas of Tagaung went south and in 443 B. C. founded Tharehketara or Prome. It was a wonderful age; the Indian philosophy was dawning in Asia Minor, and Buddha had just ceased preaching in Northern India. Probably the Sakyas introduced Buddhism to Upper Burma about the time of the foundation of Prome. It used to be the fashion to sneer at the Burmese chronicles as mere fairy tales. But the deeper you dig the more proof do you find that they have a substratum of fact. There must, as tradition says, have been a ruling race of superior civilization, because the remains at Tagaung are those of a far higher type than could have been produced by the rude Mongolian tribes who formed the mass of the people. Excavations at Tagaung have revealed Buddhist images, bricks stamped with the Buddha's image, and Pali inscriptions in a north Indian script of the type used very early in the Christian era.

The Reason why we should not despise the Chronicles.

Heptarchy: the Nation's Dawn.

In 108 A. D. the Pyu, Kanran and Thet, being driven out of Prome by the Talaings, retreated north and founded Pagan near the volcanic peak of Mount Popa; and henceforward they tend to be called no longer Pyu, Kanran and Thet, but to be all called Burmans. They ruled at Pagan till 1302 and gave Burma one of her most glorious periods. For twelve hundred years they ruled at Pagan, from 108 until 1302, but for the first thousand years very little happened till 1044. There were kingdoms at Prome, and Pagan, and Thaton, and doubtless a dozen other places including the semi-mythical Shan region of Pong.

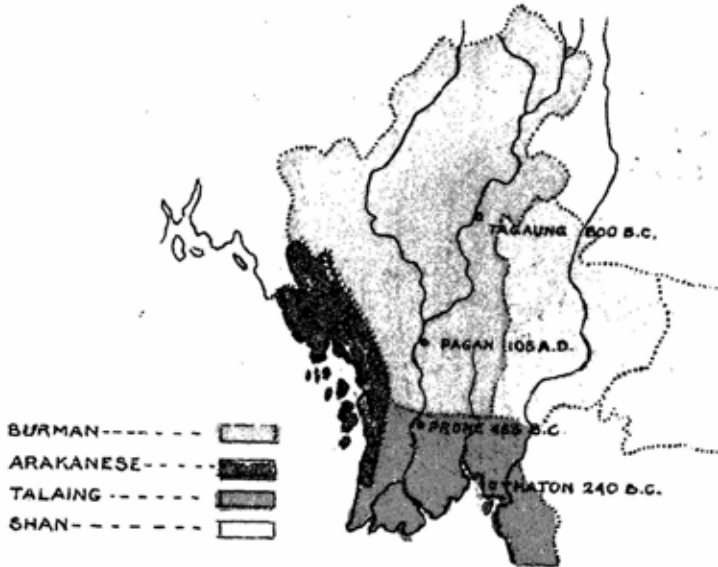
Religion before 1044 A. D. Infant Buddhism. The Ari.

The outstanding future in this Dark Age is the strangling of Buddhism by heathenism, especially dragon-worship. Buddhism cannot have sunk very deep among the people at large, and now, about the sixth century it began to be strangled by various heathen growths and to become mingled with the debased Tantric System which is a mixture of black magic, witchcraft and Siva worship. The priests of this Tantric Buddhism, which permeated the Mahayana or Northern School, were called Ari and dwelt

in monasteries but were drunken, degraded and licentious. They practised the *Jus Primae Noctis*. The frescoes in the Payathonzu Pagoda at Pagan leave no room for doubt as to the nature of Ari worship.

THE DAWN.

800 B. C.—1044 A. D.



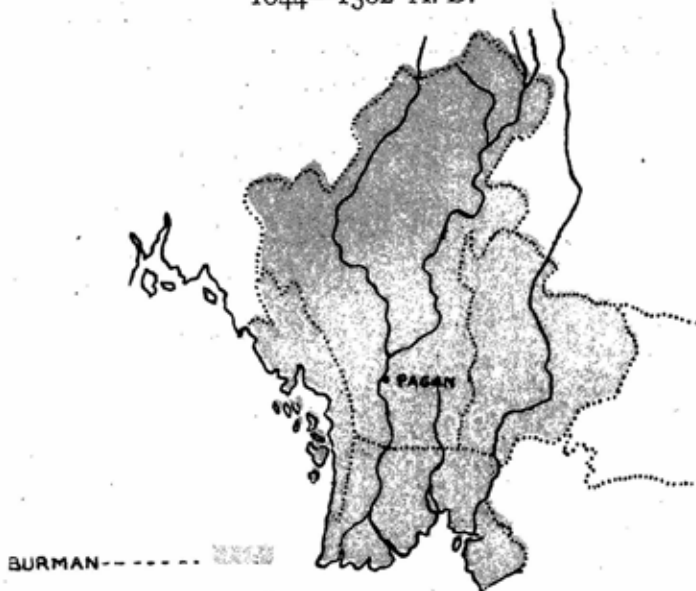
Parallel
between
Buddhism
and Christi-
anity.

There is thus a curious parallel between Buddhism and Christianity; each is one of the purest faiths the world has ever seen, and each has produced its opposite in the form of obscene heresies—just as Buddhism had the Ari, so Christianity had the Black Mass and the Bulgars. The Ari also claimed powers of absolution; they did not realise that in a sense sin is inexpiable; what is done can never be undone, effect must follow cause—one's karma must work itself out *ကံသုတ္တံ*. Dragon worship also prevailed and from the sixth century till 1044 Buddhism in a recognisable form was practically non-existent, even at court and among the more enlightened classes. Titha who came to the throne of Pegu in 761 was a Siva worshipper; phallic traces have recently been unearthed on the site of his palace; and Saw Rahan, who usurped the throne of Pagan in 924, set up an image of the serpent in a beautiful wood, and bade the people bow down and worship it. Upper and Lower Burma were alike in the grip of heathendom.

Progress: the
First Empire
1044—1302
A. D. Parallel
between
William I and
Anawrahta.

But in 1044 things began to move, and we come to a Golden Age. 1044 was the beginning of a Golden Age which began with religious and political reform, yes and expansion too. Under Anawrahta who mounted the throne of Pagan in 1044, Burma became a United Kingdom and Buddhism spread in triumph over the land. Precisely similar events were happening in Europe about this time. While Anawrahta and his line were unifying Burma and establishing Buddhism, the Cluniac Revival was cleansing Western Christianity, Rome (strengthened by the Hildebrandine Papacy)

PROGRESS
THE FIRST EMPIRE (PAGAN).
1044—1302 A. D.



was fighting for a juster politic and in England the Norman Kings were unifying both Church and State in a tighter unity than either had ever known before. William, the Conqueror of England, belonged to the same century as Anawrahta who came to the throne in 1044 and died in 1077. Anawrahta is a national hero. A mere stripling, he challenged the usurping King and slew him in single combat. He looked round with the eye of a born ruler, and saw all round him a degraded superstition and an insignificant kingdom. He hated the false gods and the abominations of their priests, but he did not know how to begin. Just then, to his delight, there came from Thaton the great missionary Saint Arahan. At once Anawrahta was converted. He stamped out the foul dragon worship, expelled the Ari and set about establishing Buddhism. But he had no copies of the scriptures, so he asked Manuha, King of Thaton for copies. Religion and civilization at Thaton were at a higher level than in the rude north country at Pagan. Buddhism at Thaton was not the degraded Tantric Buddhism of the Mahayana or Northern School; it was a purer form, from the Hinayana or Southern School of Ceylon. King Manuha possessed copies of the Tipitaka which had been left at Thaton by Saint Buddhaghosa. He refused to give them up, so Anawrahta marched with an army and laid siege to Thaton. Thaton was civilized and religious but unwarlike and totally unprepared. Anawrahta sacked it and carried away the scriptures and the whole population as slaves. He carried away the King, the Queen and the nobles; yes, but he also carried away what was better than any King or nobles—he carried away the artists and draftsmen, the men who made beautiful things. Art is the Great Magician who lifts us off this earth awhile, and the Kings of Anawrahta's line used their artists and craftsmen to build temples at Pagan, temples such as had never been seen or

Triumph of
Hinayana
Buddhism
under
Anawrahta.

Conquest of
Thaton 1057:
its Signifi-
cance.

dreamed of before in Burma. Upper Burma gained immensely by the conquest of Thaton; she gained Buddhism in the form which she finally adopted and has never since forsaken; Buddhism of the Hinayana or Southern School from the Mahavihara in Ceylon. The Buddhism she had previously known, the Mahayana Buddhism from Northern India tends to disappear from Burma after this. So Anawrahta had conquered all Burma south of Pagan and ruled down to Thaton. But this was not all; he was overlord of Arakan, he was overlord of the Shans, and he ruled up to Bhamo. He was the first Emperor of Burma. He ruled over what we to-day call Burma excluding Tenasserim.

It was a magnificent feat to convert a petty rajah's state of Pagan into an Empire extending over the entire length and breadth of Burma. Anawrahta is the first of the great dynasty of Pagoda Builders which lasted from 1044 till a few years after their overthrow by the Chinese and Turks under Kublai Khan in 1283. The age of pagoda building at Pagan lasted from the eleventh to the thirteenth century and thus roughly coincides with the age in which Gothic cathedrals sprang up in N. E. France and became the glory of Western Europe. Gothic assumed a definite shape about 1150. People tell us Burma has no history. They tell us that her chronicles are not worth reading, that everything is mere oriental despotism and vulgarity. They say that the Kings were at their worst cruel and incompetent, and at their best only silly sultans. They tell us that ruins in Burma are only the

“ battered caravanaserai
Whose portals are alternate night and day
Where Sultan after Sultan with his pomp
Abode his hour or two and went his way.”

But it is not so. We have only to look at the ruins of Pagan to know it was not so. If they had been mere vulgar tyrants, these men would have built themselves vainglorious tombs; but not a single one built himself a tomb. They would have built themselves luxurious palaces; but not a single one built himself a lasting palace. They did not seek their own glory; they sought the glory of their faith, the glory of their fatherland—they built cathedrals. Age cannot wither or custom stale the infinite variety of these ruins. They are fingers which point out to Young Burma to-day its forefathers, and the great deeds they did in their time before us; they are silent but eloquent witnesses of a mighty past. Yes, and it was a good past, too. The men who achieved such grandeur must have been good men. The men who built these temples were not small men with small ideas; they were great men with great ideas. They had their hopes, they had their ideals, they dreamed their dreams. Stephen Phillips makes King Herod say

“ I dream in marble and conceive in brass.”

But of the Pagan Kings it may in very deed and truth be said that they prayed in stone. Pagan is a prayer in stone. Every arch is an aspiration, every line soars heavenwards, and the golden spires flame forth their faith.

Consider one of these temples: take the Ananda, here in the picture.* Who had the soul to conceive such beauty, the brain to execute it? We do

The
Unification
of Burma.

Parallel
between
Gothic Cathedrals and the
Pagan Cathedrals.

The Message
of Pagan.

The Ananda
Cathedral.

* See Plate V. Vol. VIII. Pt. III.—Editor.

not know. The artist's name is forgotten but his work lives for ever; perhaps he himself would have it so. Doubtless he was a poor man, who was treated as a servant and passed unnoticed amid the brilliant throng of soldiers and statesmen who crowded the court of his master, the King. All that we know of him is a tradition which tells how, when the work was finished, the King put him to death lest he should build a rival to his peerless pagoda: that shows how little the spirit of Buddhism had really softened the fierce heart of that rough age. But after all, King Kyansittha had only one of generation of Buddhism in his veins; he was no worse than the Italianate princes, who, after centuries of Christianity, put out the eyes of their jewellers lest they should make beautiful gems for other people. A local tradition tells how he consecrated the Ananda in 1090 riding a white horse in solemn procession of priests and people; this record is in Talaing; and Talaing is also the language of many of the inscriptions for the 1,500 panels, containing sculptures of the Buddha's life, which adorn the temple. You will say "But this is strange. Pagan was a Burmese city and the Ananda is a Burmese cathedral. Surely the inscription should be either in Burmese, the language of the people or in Pali the language of the church." The reason is, Pagan was something more than a Burmese city: she was a religious centre for Indo-China and she was also an Imperial city, the capital of a varied and extensive Empire—those were great days, when men from India and Arakan as well as from Burma, from the Shan hills as well as from the Talaing plains, came up to worship in her temples. The Ananda, with its architectural beauty, its wealth of sculpture and its mingling of languages and races, shews forth the glory of King Kyansittha's undivided sway over the Upper and the Lower Kingdoms, over the Burmans of the Upper Reaches of the Irrawaddy and the Talaings of the Delta. Wander through its dim aisles; they are like tunnels hewn in some vast cave temple; the sun's rays never penetrate there; all is silent and cool; you pass countless sculptures half hidden in the gloom and at the end of the great western aisle you come to two life-size stone figures kneeling in prayer. They have knelt there for eight hundred and twenty-nine years. One is a King, the other a Priest. The King is the pious founder, Kyansittha; the Priest is his confessor, the Apostle Saint Araham. Look at the King's face; he has been dust these eight hundred years, but here in the stone, fresh as life, you can see the cold lips, the square chin of one of the greatest soldiers and mightiest monarchs that Burma has ever produced. Notice his eyes: they are round, not slant-wise; the face is not a Burmese face; he was not a pure Burman. His mother was an Indian princess.

For three centuries the Pagan Kings ruled a united Burma and maintained a splendid civilisation. But their empire, the first Empire, was subject to the law of Change and Decay. The meretricious vulgarity of the Bawdi Pagoda shews how the great dynasty was degenerating by 1250. Their hold on the outskirts of Empire was weakening: Wareru the Shan set up an independent kingdom at Martaban in 1282, and soon afterwards annexed Pegu. But the final blow came from external aggression; Kublai Khan overran China and in 1283 sent an army under Nasruddin to invade Burma. Nasruddin occupied Pagan after heavy fighting at Ngasaunggyan

Imperial
Pagan.

The
Kyansittha
and Shin
Araham
Statues.

The Tartars
overthrow
the First
Empire.

(Yungchaung) where he was outnumbered by five to one; but though outnumbered the Chinese were a compact force of seasoned veterans under experienced commanders, and proved more than a match for the raw Burmese hordes. Let us read the vivid account of the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo; while serving on Kublai Khan's staff he must have met Tartar officers who had taken part in the action:—

"As soon as the advance of the Burmese with so great a force was known to Nasruddin, who commanded the army of the Grand Khan, he felt much alarmed, although he was brave and able officer; for he had not more than twelve thousand men (veterans indeed, and valiant soldiers), whereas the enemy had sixty thousand, besides elephants....However, without showing any sign of apprehension, he descended into the plain of Vochang, and took a position where his flank was covered by a thick wood of large trees so that if his troops were driven in by a furious charge of the elephants... they could retire to the wood.....[The Burmese army advanced. The Chinese remained firm] and after suffering them to reach their entrenchment, rushed out with great spirit...but their horses, unused to the sight of elephants...were terrified, and wheeling about endeavoured to fly....As soon as Nasruddin perceived this....he made his men dismount, lead their horses into the wood, and fasten them to the trees. When dismounted, the Chinese lost no time, but advanced on foot towards the Burmese elephants, and commenced a brisk discharge of arrows, whilst the Burmese in the howdahs....shot volleys in return with great activity; but their arrows did not make the same impression as those of the Tartars, whose bows were drawn with a stronger arm....The Burmese elephants were soon covered with arrows, and, suddenly giving way, fell back upon their own people in the rear, and threw them into confusion. It soon became impossible for their drivers to manage them....Smarting under the pain of their wounds, and terrified by the shouting of the Chinese, they....ran about in all directions, until at length....they rushed into the wood, where the howdahs crashed and broke in the dense branches, killing the soldiers who sat on them. On seeing the rout of the elephants, the Chinese acquired fresh courage, and filing off by detachments, with perfect order and regularity, they remounted their horses, and joined their several divisions. Then a sanguinary and dreadful combat ensued. There was no want of valour among the Burmese, whose General went amongst the ranks entreating them to stand firm. But the Tartars, by their consummate skill in archery, were too powerful, and galled exceedingly the Burmese, who were not provided with such stout armour as was worn by the Chinese. The arrows having been expended on both sides, the men grasped their swords and iron maces, and violently attacked each other. Then in an instant were seen many horrible wounds, dismembered limbs; multitudes fell to the ground, maimed and dying: and the effusion of blood was dreadful to behold. So great also was the clangour of arms, and such the shoutings and the shrieks, that the noise seemed to ascend to the skies."

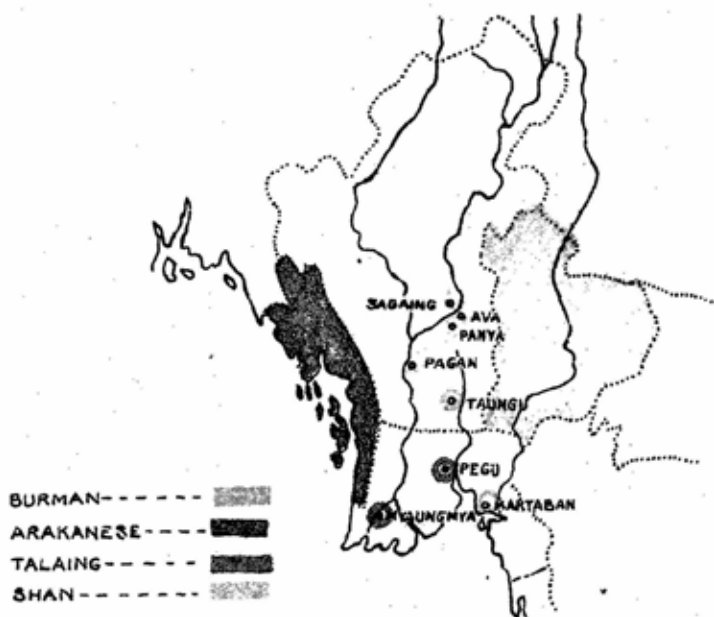
Hundreds of temples at Pagan were destroyed. The Burmese chronicles say that the Chinese destroyed them; but Marco Polo insists on the respect paid to religion by Kublai Khan, whose officers had strict instructions not to injure pagodas; it is much more likely that the temples were destroyed by the Burmese in their search for material to erect fortifications. But at the last moment King Narathihapate's courage failed, and he fled to Bassein without sustaining a siege. Higher Critics used to doubt whether Nasruddin ever really occupied Pagan; however, a Mongolian inscription has been found

there, celebrating the victory and it is probably quite true, as tradition says, that parties of Nasruddin's force really did get as far south as Tarokmaw (Chinese Point) below Prome. The Chinese Invasion gave the crumbling Pagan Empire a blow from which its prestige never recovered.

Regress: the
Heptarchy
again.

So the First Empire went to pieces and we come to a Dark Age. This Dark Age lasted for two hundred years (1302-1540). Shan Chiefs overran Burma both in the north and the south. There was no longer one great Kingdom. In the north there were kingdoms at Pagan and Panya and Sagaing and Ava. In the south there were kingdoms at Taungu and Martaban and Pegu. It is a dismal period of assassinations and rebellions. Arakan was independent.

REGRESS SHAN AND CHINESE DOMINATION. 1302—1540 A. D.



Dhammazedi's
Religious
Revival. The
Shwedagon.

The Shan Princes in the north seem to have been tributary to China and those in the south to Siam. There was incessant war between the Burmans of Upper Burma and the Talaings of Pegu. A redeeming feature is the line of three peaceful Philosopher Kings established by the great Talaing Queen Shin Saw Bu, at Pegu. They were Queen Shin Saw Bu, Dhammazedi and Pyinnyaran. Under Dhammazedi there was a religious revival, and it was Queen Shin Saw Bu who in 1460 made the present terrace of the Shwedagon Pagoda. She founded Rangoon and you can still see her tomb by the golf-links on the Prome Road. The Shan rulers of Upper Burma oppressed the Burmans and persecuted Buddhism; and Burmese nobles migrated to Taungu, which was an independent kingdom and became a stronghold for the Burmese race.

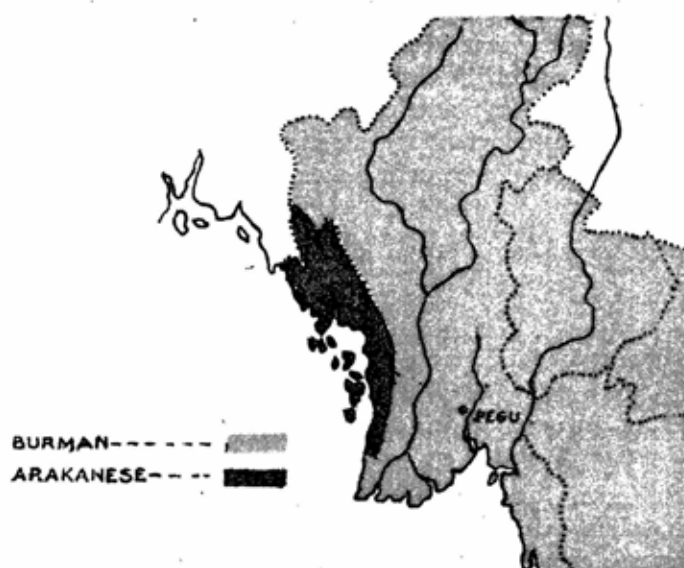
Progress: the
Second
Empire
1540—1740
A. D. Unifi-
cation.

It was from these Burmans at Taungu that the Second Empire (1540-1740) arose. It was founded by Tabin Shwedi of Taungu, and Bayin Naung (Hanthawadi Hsinbyumyashin) who died in 1581. They were Burmans who prided themselves on being Burmans and frankly claimed to be the successors of the Pagan Kings, the Kings of the First Empire. But they made their capital at Pegu in the Talaing country and they tried to conciliate the Talaings firstly, by appointing them to high office, secondly by repairing their national shrines, the Shwemawdaw and Shwedagon. They were great commanders who conquered all Burma (except Arakan) and Siam.

PROGRESS

THE SECOND EMPIRE (PEGU).

1540—1740 A. D.



Bayin Naung:
the Misguided
Titan.

Bayin Naung's life was the greatest explosion of human energy this country had ever seen; unfortunately most of this energy was directed to unproductive ends, to excessive ostentation and murderous conquest. He did everything on a big scale. He did great things, but he also made such great mistakes that people now tell us he was only a glorified bully. Yet when we compare his achievements with those of the men who came before and went after him, we are forced to believe that he was a man not only of titanic personality but also of high administrative ability. He was a past master in making careful preparations on a large scale. He was tireless, and never wearied of pressing home a success to the uttermost. He never gave an enemy breathing space or time to re-form. His example inspired his soldiers, who, though Burmans and Talaings bred in the tropics, were at last willing to follow him in dreary campaigns amid the snows of Assam and Northern Siam. He completed Anawrahta's religious work; heathenism still lingered on under the surface of religion in the Shan States, with animal and even human sacrifices. When Bayin Naung brought the Shan Chiefs to subjection he put a stop to these sacrifices for ever.

The
Coping-Stone
on National
Religion.

The early days of the Second Empire under Bayin Naung are another great age in Burmese History. But it was a great period all over the world. It was one of the most wonderful periods in the world's history, when men might say

"The World's Great Age begins anew,
The Golden Years return,
The earth doth, like a snake, renew
Her winter weeds outworn."

It was the century of Akbar in India, of the Elizabethan Drama in England, of the Exploration of America, of the Renaissance and the Reformation in Europe. In the same century that the exquisite pottery and bronze of the Ming Dynasty was being made in China; in the same century that Palestrina was pouring forth the music of his wondrous Masses; in the same century that Michael Angelo was painting the Sistine Chapel and building St. Peter's, Rome Bayin Naung was building Pegu in a manner which aroused the admiration of European travellers. His palace was a group of grand pavilions as big as an ordinary city. The roofs of these pavilions were plated with plates of solid gold. The Venetian Caesar Federicke writes:

"The King sitteth every day in person to hear the suits of his subjects. He sitteth up aloft in a great hall on a tribunal seat, with his barons round about. On the ground forty paces distant are the petitioners with their supplications in their hands. And he hath no army on the sea, but all his army is on the land; and for people, dominions, gold and silver, he far exceeds the power of the Great Turk in treasure and strength."

He had a bodyguard of 400 Portuguese musketeers. He took the great title "King of Kings" and his Empire lasted till 1740. But it only lasted after a fashion; in spite of all its magnificence on the surface it was rotten underneath. His dynasty robbed and persecuted a whole people in order to build a single city of gold; they ruined the country and killed off the population in senseless wars with Siam; above all, they failed to conciliate the subject races, or to evolve a just and enduring administration. The Talaings hated the Burmans who tore them from their homes to serve as conscripts; they migrated to Siam in thousands, and Siam became their refuge against the Burmans just as Taungu had been the refuge of the Burmans against Shans. The wide delta of the Irrawaddy, with a soil as fertile as Egypt, was depopulated; it became a desolate wilderness, and was abandoned by Government. We say the second Empire lasted from 1540 to 1750. But it was not a real Empire; it was rent asunder within a generation of Bayin Naung's death, and though it came together again and again, this was never for long; it was constantly breaking up, constantly being rent by civil war; in one of these civil wars the city of Pegu, on which Bayin Naung had lavished the gold and silver of conquered countries, was sacked and left a heap of ruins. The capital moved to Ava. There were Chinese invasions, Manipuri invasions, Arakanese invasions. Arakan was always a separate Kingdom. There were constant rebellions and successions. It was a loosely knit empire. It produced nothing. We

Bayin
Naung's
Splendour.

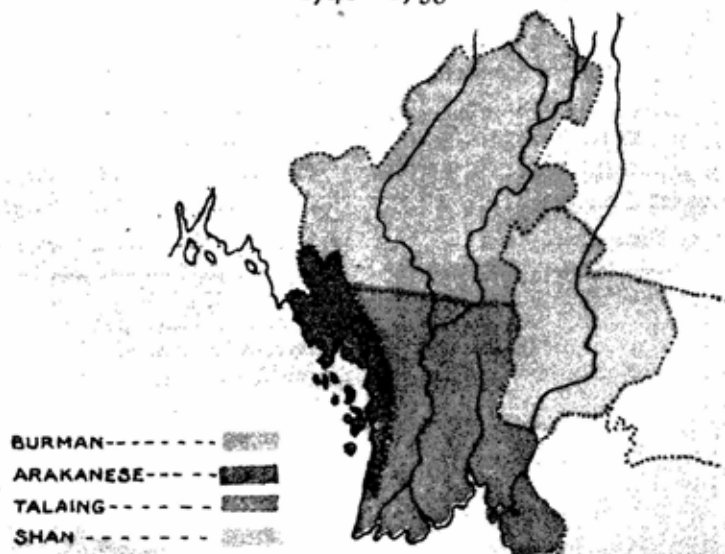
Stagnation
and Failure:
Aesthetic and
Political
Barrenness of
the Second
Empire.

can judge it by its buildings; the Pagan Kings, the Kings of the First Empire, had built the glorious cathedrals at Pagan. But the Pegu Kings, the Kings of the Second Empire, built monstrosities like the Kaunghmudaw at Sagaing (1637). We do not deny that there were redeeming features and good kings under the Second Empire. A good nation never fails to produce at least some good men, even in the darkest times. For instance there was Maha Dhamma Raza who utilised all races, Burmese, Shans and Talaings, in the service of their fatherland, and hung at his palace gate a bell with an inscription in Burmese and Talaing inviting anybody who had a grievance to strike the bell so that the king might hear. But what we do say is, that the age failed to produce a system of Government, which would be independent of the personal character of the king and the passing fancy of a small clique. Contrast the age of Maha Dhamma Raza with the age of his contemporary Charles I. You will say "What difference was there? In both you had civil war, injustice, and cruelty." Yes; but surely there was a great difference. In England the injustice and cruelty were largely inevitable, and the civil war was not the selfish quarelling of evil men; it was the biological struggle between Progress and Reaction, between the Old that was dying and the New that was coming to birth. Out of the quarrel was born unity; out of the blood and tears of the Civil War was born a juster and better system of government. But in Burma how much of the injustice and cruelty were really inevitable? Were not many of the civil wars merely the selfish quarelling of evil men lusting for money and power? Were they not a fratricidal struggle rather than a natural struggle? How many of them were a struggle between great movements, a struggle which, out of evil, produced good? They did indeed sometimes happen to produce good kings; but they did not produce a good system, or indeed any system at all. Must we not admit that most of them produced little but depopulation, and a legacy of terror and hatred?

In 1740 the Talaings finally broke away and set up an independent Kingdom at Pegu under the Monk-King Mintara Buddha Kethi. So Burma was again split into two: Ava and Pegu. The Talaings, instead of consolidating a national kingdom, at once set about conquering Ava, and in 1752 they conquered it. REGRESS

BREAK UP OF SECOND EMPIRE.

1740—1753 A. D.



Regress: the
Talaings'
Last Effort
1752 A. D.

Progress: the
Third Empire
1757 A. D.
Unification.

It looked as if, under the Talaings, Burma was again going to be united in a single Empire, when Alaungpaya came upon the scene.

Alaungpaya founded the Third Empire, which lasted from 1757 onwards and included Arakan. Before success spoilt him, Alaungpaya was a true patriot. He was, like so many great men, a mixture of dreamer and man of action; witness his words when his parents begged him not to defy the hated Talaing rule; he was but a simple villager, with only a handful of followers, and they asked him what chance of success he had against an all-powerful government; he said

"When fighting for the fatherland, it matters not whether your band is large or small. What does matter is that you have a few comrades with true hearts, strong arms, and determined minds."

The Burmese
People's
Failure to
evolve a
Central Go-
vernment led
to firstly,
Arrested De-
velopment of
the whole
Nation; and
secondly, the
Loss of their
Autonomy.

He was a great man indeed; yet his success shows how administratively rotten the country must have been. Had Burma possessed even a third-rate government, a mere peasant like Alaungpaya could never have succeeded. Had government been even moderately just, conciliatory, and effective, he could never have roused that national spirit which alone rendered his success possible. We won't spend time over the Alaungpaya dynasty; they were so recent, and you know all about them. They were unfortunate; they were not worse than their predecessors, but they lived in a more difficult age. What was good enough in Bayin Naung's day was not good enough in Bagyidaw's; the great world outside had moved on and demanded a higher standard of its rulers. Gentle old men like Mindon Min governed well; but even Mindon Min failed in the prime function of Government, which is to govern: to pass orders, not to shrink from passing orders. It was his duty to secure the succession after his death, by selecting a successor, installing him in power; training him for office, and teaching the people to look to him as the lawful heir. But he hesitated to make up his mind, and shrank from the unpopularity of making a selection. He was old; he longed for peace in his time; he hoped that the future would take care of itself. But we all know the result: the future could not take care of itself.

There is something intensely saddening about Burmese history. It began so finely and ended so feebly. The race failed to progress. How could they? They never had a chance. Their history is the story of arrested development. Burma under Anawrahta can challenge comparison with contemporary England under William the Conqueror; but five hundred years later what possible comparison is there, save in mere external ostentation and splendour, between Burma under Bayin Naung and contemporary England under Elizabeth; and three hundred years later still, is it not very difficult, without straining the facts, to find any real comparison between Mindon Min's Burma and Queen Victoria's England?

"The history of Europe and even of China exhibits from era to era the progress of art, literature, popular and municipal rights and institutions, maritime and manufacturing enterprise, invention and discovery, court luxury, aristocratic refinement, philosophy, public buildings, histrionic displays and innumerable other matters of human interest. But the native-ruled Burma of to-day was, until we took it, precisely the Burma of the ninth century unless perhaps re-

trograded and more corrupt. The Burmese of the Kingdom of Ava, like those of today and those of earlier times, did little and left little, if anything, for the benefit of mankind in general" (*G. H. Parker*).

"The history of Burma is a recital of incessant wars, not an account of progress" (*S. W. Cocks*).

The Riddle:
is Burmese
History
worth study?
Has it any
Meaning?

Is this condemnation just? We think of the unknown artist who built the Ananda: of King Alaungsithu who wrote prayers like Saint Augustine and dealt with kingdoms like Saint Louis; of the poet Letwethondara; of Maha Bandula and the Thonba Wungyi offering their lives as a sacrifice for the fatherland; we think of the beauty of the religious and philosophic ideal which Burmese Buddhism has given to the world; and we say "No, the condemnation is unjust."

But then we think of the friendish cruelty and injustice of Bodawpaya; of Bagyidaw's cowardly ingratitude of the hideous massacres of 1879; of the utter stagnation and hopelessness of the end; and we say "Yes, the condemnation is just."

Which is it to be? Is the condemnation just or not? Is Burmese history worth our trouble and devotion; or is it all just a long mistake which had better be forgotten? That is the Riddle.

People tell us Burmese history is not worth trouble, because, they say, the text-books are full of nothing but this sort of thing:—"Anawrahta came to the throne in 1044." But that is not what the original authority says: it runs

"Anawrahta sent word to his foster-brother saying 'Wilt thou yield me the throne?' And Sokkate heard these words, and waxed exceeding wroth, and said 'The young cub! His mouth is not yet free from his mother's milk! If he will fight with me, why then I will fight him man to man on horseback, and do ye, my counsellors and captains, merely sit and watch.' And Anawrahta heard this command, and his heart rejoiced within him, and on the appointed day he took his faëry horse and the spear and sword given him by his father, and went unto Thamadi stream. And Sokkate saw him coming, and went forth to meet him. And Anawrahta said 'Brother, thou art the elder. It is for thee first to strike the blow.' And Sokkate smote him with his spear. But Anawrahta fended the blow with his faëry spear named Areindama. So the blow fell on the pommel of his horse's saddle. And when Sokkate saw this, he feared exceedingly, and trembled. Then said Anawrahta 'Elder brother, thou hast had thy turn, and mine is come. Abide now my blow as best thou canst.' And he smote him so that the spear Areindama went in at the front and came out even through his back. And Sokkate's horse ran with him to the river bank, and there he died; and the place is called even unto this day Myinkaba [which is, being interpreted, 'the place where the horse carried him']" (*Glass Palace Chronicle III-129*).

Then they are tired of passages such as this:—"During the Chinese invasion in 1283, Narathihapate Tarokpyemin, King of Pagan, abandoned his capital and fled to Bassein. There he remained for some months, and then returned to Prome, where his son Thihathu, Governor of Prome, put him to death." It sounds just like any other vulgar assassination of some obscure raja, a sordid episode in a dull period over which we only yawn. But let us read the original authority:—

"The butlers said 'We cannot find three hundred dishes of spiced meats.' And they placed only one hundred and fifty dishes before the King. Then said the King 'Now indeed am I a poor man.' And he covered his face with his sleeve and wept. But the Queen came and comforted him, saying 'My Lord . . . even the Emperor of all the World, with its four great Islands and the two thousand small Islands that compass them round about; even the Lord of Heaven and Earth is not free from the manifold changes and chances of this miserable life. Among mortals which dwell in the Three Mansions of Life there be none that escapeth the Eightfold Law of Fortune and Misfortune. Consider this well, and control thy grief.' So the King's heart was comforted and he took counsel together with the Queen 'Shall We go up the river to Our Royal City of Pagan, or shall We abide here in Bassein and gather Our army together?' And the Queen made answer and said unto him 'It is easy to say we will go to Pagan; but how are we to go? Consider the state of the realm: our retainers are not, nor have we any of our own followers with us. If we go up to the Royal City, how shall we escape evil in the hand of the enemy? . . . My Lord, I prayed thee before, but thou wouldst not hearken unto my word. Did I not tell thee? Harm not the Belly of thy Fatherland: that is to say, do not accuse falsely the merchants when they are innocent, and seize their silver and their gold. Abase not the Forehead of thy Fatherland: that is to say, wax not wroth with thy officers, and put them to death without consideration. Cast not down the Spire of thy Fatherland: that is to say, do not oppress the Wise Men and the Priests of the Church. Sully not the Face of thy Fatherland: that is to say, do not force fair women. . . . Even though I warned thee, thou didst these things, and now in the hour of thy need the people fly from thee. And this is not all: Thihathu the Prince is even now dwelling at Prome. Verily he will be thy bane.' But the King said 'Nay. Not so. Did I not save him from the hand of his brother who put him in chains and led him away to die? How should he harm me? I will get me to Prome, and gather my army, and thence will I go upstream to my Royal City of Pagan.' So they went up the river to Prome, in disarray and without seemly order. And when the barge was come to the bank at Prome, Thihathu the Prince stayed the barge lest it should go further. And he also put poison in a dish of food and sent it to his father saying 'Take, eat.' But the King wist that there was death in the dish, and would not eat. So Thihathu the Prince sent three thousand men-at-arms and they stood with shining swords around the barge.

Then said the Queen 'Ah, my Lord, my Lord! Did I not tell thee? All this hath come to pass because thou wouldst not hearken unto my word. What? Is it a King's death to die beneath the swords, and suffer the blood royal to pour in streams? Nay, it is better and seemlier to eat the food.'

And the King took the ring from off his finger, and made offering of water poured over it, and gave it to the Queen saying 'In every existence wherein I wander through eternity until I enter Nirvana, God grant me never to have man child born to me again.' And he took the dish and ate; and even as he ate, swift death seized him and he passed beyond" (*Glass Palace Chronicle V-147*).

When you have material like this to quote, why not quote it in full? Why not let the original words speak for themselves? Why substitute your own beggarly modern prose? People tell you Burmese literature is not worth reading. Well, they've never tried to read it. Take another instance. The text books give us official facts about the Emperor Alaungsithu who died in 1167. But they give us no human touch. Now let us read the chronicle:—

"It fell on a day that as King Alaungsithu was granting audience to his counsellors and captains he stretched forth his arm and boasted in his pride. But

he was old, and the counsellors saw his bare arm that it was thin; and they smiled. Now the King saw that they smiled, and next day he called them, saying 'Come hither, my masters, ye who stand at my right and my left hand. I have news: at the foot of the hill called Spadehill there dwelleth a knave who weareth a striped headgear, and the horse that he rideth is striped also; and his wont is to ride forth at sundown and rob folk. Up, all four of ye, and catch me this knave, or on your heads be it!'

So the four captains took four good horses from the stable and hied them forth, rejoicing, to catch the knave. But the King saddled his horse; and the colour thereof was gold, and he had a white spot on his forehead; and he bound him firmly with girths of white raiment. And he called a trusty page and charged him saying 'Keep the gate open against my coming, even though I come not by eventide.' And he bound a striped kerchief on his head, and slung a sheathed sword to his side, and spurred swiftly away to the hill that is called Spadehill.

Now the four captains said 'This is he.' And they rode after him. But the King played at hide and seek, riding now near, now far, till his horse grew weary. Then he leaped down the steep bank of the cliff at Nyaung U and watered his horse. And the four captains thought in their hearts 'The fool in fear hath fallen over the cliff and lieth dead.'

But when his horse was refreshed, the King gat him up the bank and made sport of the four captains on the broad acres of Po U. Sometimes he rode up to them, sometimes away from them, and ever he sought to break their ranks. . . Thrice he rode through them from before, and thrice he rode through them from behind. Thrice he spurred through them from the left, and thrice he spurred through them from the right. And having taken his fill of sport, he rode home to the palace.

But at daybreak, when the King came forth to audience, the four captains went together before him. And he said 'Come hither, my lieges. Met ye the knave who rideth a striped horse?' And they made answer and said 'Lord, incline thine ear as we bow before thy feet. This knave is no mortal knave, but verily he is a devil. But if he be a man, then must he be of passing great glory and power. Nay, all the King's horses and all the King's men could never catch him, no, not if they surrounded him on every side.'

Then said the King 'Ye thought I was old. Now know ye, I am not old yet''
(*Glass Palace Chronicle IV-141*).

These extracts, taken at random, suffice to show that the fault lies not with Burmese history, but with the defective text-books which fail to present it adequately: they do not go back to the original texts. Burmese history, like the history of any other good people, is full of romance and contains magnificent material. There is a whole cycle of legends round Anawrahta alone, to say nothing of others. His henchman Htwe Yu, Lon Let Pe, Nyaung O Pi and Kyansittha were to him what the Knights of the Round Table were to King Arthur; think, too, of his faëry pages, Shwe Hpyin Gyi and Shwe Hpyin Nge, who went daily from Pagan to Popa Hill and back to get champak blossoms.

James Hla Gyaw's "Ko Yin Maung and Ma Me Ma" shews that Burmese can write a readable novel in an historical setting, and it would be a good thing if, instead of some of the inferior vernacular novels which now appear in numbers and seem based on the cinematograph rather than real life, we had novels which would make the past live again, historical

Burmese History is dull only because our text-books are defective and render it dull.

Wanted: historical novels.

novels based on material such as Lagunein's stealing into the Burmese camp by night and standing over the sleeping king with a drawn sword, hesitating to carry out the orders and kill him; or the humble mahout, who chivalrously rescued Min Hkaung's queen after his great defeat and brought her safe through the lonely jungles.

Of course the text-books cannot be expected to detail incidents such as these; but they might at least suggest them; instead, their tone almost gives one the impression that the Burmese people are incapable of heroism, unselfishness, or chivalry; they chronicle assassination and treachery, but not the cry of horror which these evoked from the people—for instance, we are told that Narathu poisoned his brother: but we are not told how Panthagu the Primate strode into his presence and publicly rebuked him on his throne. There is no possible excuse for the omission, in books intended for the youth of the nation, of stories such as the following told about Maha Bandula and the Thonba Wungyi. Maha Bandula, able man that he was, realised how his nation must go down before the White Men from over the Sea; so he determined to offer himself as a sacrifice for his fatherland. When his followers asked him, shortly before he was killed, to be less careless in exposing himself to the English gunfire, he said

"When an army led by a renowned commander is beaten, men blame the army saying 'It is a bad army, and failed to support its great leader.' But when an army is defeated after its general's death, men only say 'They could not help it, they had no leader!'"

The Thonba Wungyi, when the English stormed his stockade, was entreated by his followers to flee. He said

"I stay here. Save yourselves. Tell the King that though his officers may not always know how to succeed, at least we know how to die."

So he died, like a very gallant gentleman. Words such as these, followed as they were by fitting acts, are worthy of any soldier in any age of country. Yet in no school history of Burma is either of these stories even hinted at, much less told. The writers are on the horns of a dilemma: either they did not know these stories, and presumed to teach a subject of which they had no adequate knowledge; or they did know, and deliberately suppressed them, in books whose solemn duty is to hold up an ideal, a tradition, as well as to impart knowledge.

The second defect in the text books is their total omission of all reference to literature and art. You cannot divorce a nation's life from its literature and art, least of all in the case of a nation like the Burmese which has so strongly marked an aesthetic sense. You would never guess, to read the text-books, that amid the insensate bloodshed of Alaungpaya's reign, Letwethondara was enriching the world with exquisite lyrics, such as သောတာပန်တို့၏ နိဗ္ဗာန်ဝမ်းသာ. Even amid the sordid struggles of the XVth Century men such as Shin Oktamagyaw and Shin Thilawuntha lived, and wrote gems like the Tawla

Our text-books are perversions, not versions, of Burmese History.

Literature and Art.

Social
Conditions.

The third defect in the text-books is that they make no attempt to describe social conditions. I admit there are great difficulties, because the Yazawins don't condescend to describe the people. The Yazawins

" were not writ for lowly churls

But for high dames and mighty earls."

They mention nothing but wars and kings, princes, potentates and powers. Yet there are other materials; there are the inscriptions, the dramas, the memoirs, the legends, the traditions, the အရေးတော်ပုံ, the အမှတ်တော်ပုံ, the အထွေထွေတောင်း, the ဂျိုး ကဗျာ, လင်္ကာ, the ဆွမ်း နှင်းကွန်း and the ဇာတ်

The political
genius of the
West resides
at Court; of
Burma in the
Village.

From all these it ought to be possible to get some side-lights on the condition of the people; and it is most necessary to do so, because the life of the Burmese nation even more than of other nations is a thing apart from the King and the Court. In Europe the Court led the people: think what western civilisation owes to the mediaeval Papacy, what England owes to the Angevins and Tudors, what France owes to the early Bourbons. But in Burma, what with tropical rains, tropical heat, bad communications and great distances, the arm of the Court was never very long or strong. The central government was always weak and sometimes vicious; it was village government which was always sound and strong. Only too often the Burmese Court was worse than the nation, the Burmese King was worse than his people. Princes might assassinate each other and the central power might be rotten to the core: yet far away in the quiet country side dwelt the mass of the people, a homely folk who were ruled by their elders, their lords of the manor, their hereditary squires, their thugyis who were born and lived and died among them and did justice by them. They had their songs and their gladness, their household cares and village fêtes; they neither knew nor cared what happened at Court. The murderous chronicles of the Court bear about as much relation to the lives of the people as the murder columns of a newspaper bear to yours and mine. You cannot judge the Burmese people by their rulers: that is why any history which describes only their rulers is misleading.

Wanted: an
Historian.
Appeal to
Young
Burma.

Nothing great will ever be done on Burmese history until you yourselves do it. We English are foreigners and find it hard to read the original authorities. It is not our business to write the history of your country. It is your business, and it is most especially the duty of those of you who have received an English education, because although there is any amount of vernacular scholarship, and any amount of enthusiasm among dear old vernacular Sayas, it will never come to any good till it is brought into contact with the exactness, the breadth of view, the scientific spirit of the West. It is for the younger generation with its superior mental training to justify its education, to help these men of an older generation and to take up the magnificent task of writing a fitting History of Burma. The time is now approaching when it will be possible for Young Burma to remove the slur that the three chief authorities are foreigners—Forchammer was a German, Taw Sein Ko is a Chinaman, Duroiselle is a Frenchman—and to write a worthy History of Burma. In the 35 years that have elapsed since Phayre wrote our knowledge has trebled. We now have a large literature

of articles and monographs. Excavation has shed new light and inscriptions have been collated. But the mere collation of data is, with all due respect to the modern German school, not history. We want colour and life, a connected account which will make Burmese history live again. It is Young Burma which must do this.

Scheme for
a Standard
History.

How should this standard history, this classic, be written? First of all it will take ten years' study and thought, and mental friction and collaboration with half a dozen specialists before you put pen to paper. But it will be worth it. Then it should be written in two parts: they will run into several volumes. The first part will be purely narrative. It should be written in splendid vigorous English, every sentence ringing out like a hammer-stroke: this will need the help of Englishmen. It should be dogmatic and clear: there should be no discussion of doubtful points. A definite view should be taken on each, and stated without hesitation or qualification. There should be no foot-notes. The narrative should be in large type, and whenever it comes to a part which is best told in the original, the original should be translated into suitable English (which would in some passages be the English of Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*) and inserted without comment in an indent of small type with the reference bracketed at the end. Literature and art should be dealt with in each period; and, so far as they changed or are ascertainable, social and economic conditions should be described. Famous passages from literature should be indented and quoted in the original Burmese, with a good English translation underneath as is done in Duff's "Literary History of Rome." Coloured historical maps would shew Burma and her peoples in various stages of their development; there should be photogravure illustrations of e. g. the Kyansittha and Araham Statues; and there may come a time when we shall have painters whose pictures of great scenes in Burmese history will be worthy of reproduction. The second part will contain no narrative: it will consist solely of appendices and discussions on doubtful points.

The Interpretation:
Burmese
History is
worth devotion
and has
a Meaning—the
Unification
of
Burma.

That is how the history of Burma should be written. But is that all? Is it to be nothing more than a picturesque tale that shall "draw children from play, and old men from the chimney corner"? Is there no meaning, is there no guiding principle, is there no golden thread that runs through the tangled skeins of Burmese History? Let us try to find a meaning. Look at these pictures of Pagan: do they suggest nothing? Surely they suggest Aspiration, Achievement and Failure: the story of the race is the story of a great aspiration which for a period achieved noble results even though it failed to maintain or eclipse them. Now look at these maps shewing Burma at successive stages in her history: do they not suggest at any rate one direction in which that aspiration lay, and at least one reason why it failed? The first map portrays her as a mere concourse of formless tribes and petty chieftainships, a concourse which passed away leaving little that is recorded or worthy of record; the second shews her as one great unity, a unity which enabled her to give mankind the gloriously creative period of Pagan; the third shews her slipping back into a wrangling heptarchy under alien overlords; the fourth, where she became one again under Bayin Naung; the fifth, where her unity has faded yet once more. The meaning of these maps is

plain: they shew that Burma's constant aspiration was towards unity, and that she failed to fulfil her early promise because this unity was always eluding her grasp. Her aspiration may have been only half conscious—mankind often acts instinctively—but it was none the less there: an agelong striving towards one single shining throne, a throne which would heal her wounds, and liberate her energies so long pent up or wasted in strife, a throne which would evoke the individual genius of every one of her peoples.

The Dream.

Yes, that is the meaning of Burmese History: the Unification of Burma, the Unification of the Race. That was the Dream of all the ages, that was the Vision, the Dream of Anawrahta and Bayin Naung and Alaungpaya. That was the Dream of the good and great men who ruled Burma. Anawrahta made Burma one. It fell to pieces. Bayin Naung seized the broken fragments in his mighty grasp, and made them one again. They fell to pieces yet once more. Alaungpaya made Burma one. It was falling to pieces again, the Dream was fading for the third time when the English came and gave us unity such as we never had before. The ideal history of Burma must trace the development of this unity: it must be written round this unity; it must shew how, through the Ages, over a long and bitter path, Burma struggled up to Unity, up into the Light. We now have a unity which, please God, will endure for ever. We believe that we are going to do what has never been done before, what the Roman Empire failed to do, what the Roman Church failed to do: we are going to reconcile Nationalism with Imperialism. Burma is becoming one—one nation, one language, one religion: one faith, one fealty, one fellowship, and over all the flag of Freedom. The history of Burma is not ended: it is only beginning. The Dream is not fulfilled yet; it awaits fulfilment. It is for us to fulfil it, it is for us so to act that this unity will be not a cast-iron unity, a dead unity imposed from without, but a free living unity, a unity growing spontaneously from within.

[The chairman invited discussion on the address.

Mr. Nanavati, I. C. S., asked whether there really was sufficient material for a standard history.

Mr. Harvey replied: Quite so. In some periods we have as yet no adequate material. Nobody contends that a history of Burma could be on the same level as the history of more highly developed nations where records of every age abound and generations of scholars have been at work on scientific lines. But what we do say is, that even with our present scanty materials we could make an infinitely better show than anyone suspects.

U May Oung said: We all owe Mr. Harvey a debt for the work he has done, not only because of the way he has interested us and the thought he has displayed, but even more for the faith in our national spirit of patriotism which breathes in all he has said. His work comes at the right time, when the spirit of new life is in the air, and the Anthology is about to appear. When the Anthology is published, we will have at the public disposal a wealth of material which is now inaccessible. Perhaps then we shall have a history which shows what our nation has been capable of in past days; we shall have, for our sons to read, stories such as that of Nga Shwe Kyaing who, when struggling with a would-be assassin of the King, saw the King

hesitate to strike for fear of killing the wrong man, and called out "Sire, take no risks. Strike and kill us both." I should like to mention one period which has been unduly neglected, the period of Shan and Chinese Domination which has not been fully treated even by the few people who have taken the trouble to write on Burmese History. It was during this period that Burmese Poetry reached its greatest heights: it was the Golden Age of Burmese Poetry. Of course you know the poets' names, but that is about all you do know: it is a shame on us to forget them. Mr. Harvey says there has been a failure. I fear there has. Let us try to remedy that failure, in our writings, but even more in our lives. I take it his object is to stimulate interest; that being so, his work comes at the right moment, when the Burma University is on the eve of foundation, with a Chair of Burmese History and Literature. Tonight will not have been in vain if it leads to a few young men taking an interest in their national history. The people among the English-educated classes who do so can be counted on one's fingers. The work will have to be done by ourselves, for after all, as Mr. Harvey himself admits, it is our own country, and we alone are able to use the materials easily. I cannot say more, because it is difficult to discuss a speech with which one so thoroughly agrees, a speech which voices what so many of us Burmans have ourselves been wanting to say.]

G. E. HARVEY.

မြန်မာစာစိစာကုံးပညာအကြောင်း။ *

BURMESE LITERARY ART.

(၁) — “မြန်မာစာစိစာကုံးပညာ” အကြောင်းကို၊ ယခုနေ့ကျွန်တော်ကပြောကြားရမည်ဖြစ်ရာ၊ ထိုပညာသည် အလွန်တရားကျယ်ဝန်းလှသော ပညာကြီးဖြစ်ပါသည်။ ယခုကြွရောက်တော်မူလာကြသော ပရိသတ်လူကြီးမင်းတို့အား၊ အကျဉ်းမျှသာ အစီရင်ခံရမည်ဖြစ်ပါ၍၊ ကျွန်တော်ရေးသား ပြောဆိုသမျှကို၊ လိုရင်းအချက် အနက်မပို၊ အတိုချုပ် အဓိပ္ပါယ်ဟူ၍သာ၊ ထင်မြင် မှတ်ယူတော် မူကြ ပါရန်၊ အစီရင်ခံပါ ကြောင်း။

ယခုကျွန်တော် ပြောကြားလိုသော စကားများမှာ၊ အောက်ပါအတိုင်း ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

“မြန်မာစာစိစာကုံးပညာ” ဆိုသည်မှာ၊ (က) စကားပြင်သက်သက်စီကုံးခြင်း။ (ခ) စကားပြေ စီကုံးခြင်း။ (ဂ) လင်္ကာစီကုံးခြင်းဟူ၍ ၃ မျိုးရှိပါကြောင်း။

ထို ၃ မျိုးတို့တွင် (က) စကားပြင်သက်သက် စီကုံးခြင်းမှာ၊ မိမိတို့အလိုရှိသော အကြောင်းအရာ ကိုဖြစ်စေ၊ ဒဏ္ဍာရီ ပုံပြင်များကိုဖြစ်စေ၊ စကားပြင်သက်သက်ဖြင့် ရေးသားခြင်းကို ဆိုပါသည်။

ဘော်ပြချက်။

(က) ရှေးဆရာကြီးတို့ ရေးသားထားရှိခဲ့သော၊ ရာဇဝင်စကားပြင်များ၊ ဒဏ္ဍာရီဝတ္ထုများ၊ မြန်မာဘာသာ စကားပြင်သက်သက်၊ ဆေးကျမ်း၊ ဗေဒကျမ်း၊ အင်းကျမ်းမှစ၍ လောကီအင်္ဂုတ္တိုရ်ကျမ်းများ၊ သာသနာဘက်ဆိုင်ရာကမ္မ၊ ပိဋကတ်သုံးပုံရှေးနိဿိများ၊ ပုဒ်စပ်-သဒ္ဒါစပ်၊ သံဝတ္ထနာနည်းလေးဆယ်၊ ဥပစာ ၁၀ ပါး၊ ဝိထိလင်္ကာရီ၊ ညဝါအကောက်၊ ပဌာန်း (၂၄) ကျမ်းအကောက်၊ ယောဇနာများ၊ မဏိကုဏ္ဍလဝတ္ထု၊ မေဃပဒဝတ္ထု၊ သံဝေဂဝတ္ထုဒီပနီ၊ မင်္ဂလတ္ထဒီပနီစသော ကျမ်းဆရာမြတ်တို့၏ ရေးပုံသားပုံ စကားသုံးတို့သည်၊ စကားပြင်သက်သက် စီကုံးခြင်း ဖြစ်ကြပေ၏။

စကားပြင်သက်သက် ရေးသားရာ၌၊ မိမိတို့ရေးလိုသော အကြောင်းအရာအား လျော်စွာ၊ ကံ-ကတ္တာ၊ ကိရိယာ နာမ်ကိန်းဟူသော-အနေ အထားများကို သင့်တင့်စွာထားရှိစေပြီးလျှင်၊ ဝါစာ ၈ ပါးအတိုင်း၊ ပဒေသါ၊ ဝါကျဒေသါ၊ ဝါကျတ္တဒေသါတို့မှ ကင်းလွတ်စေလျက်၊ ကောင်းမွန်စွာ ရေးသားရပါသည်။ ယင်းသို့ဖြစ်ပါက စကားပြင် ဖြစ်သော်လည်း၊ အဆိုပါ သဒ္ဒါနည်း၊ ဆန်းနည်း၊ လင်္ကာ နည်းများနှင့် ညီညွတ်လေသောကြောင့်၊ စကားပြင်ကောင်းဟုခေါ်ဆိုရပါကြောင်း။

(၂) — (ခ) စကားပြေဆိုသည်မှာ၊ (က) အဆိုပါစကားပြင်သက်သက်ကိုဖြစ်စေ၊ အခြားအလိုရှိရာအကြောင်းများကိုဖြစ်စေ၊ စကားချောမော ပြေပြစ်စေခြင်းငှါ၊ ဂုဏ်ပုဒ်-နာမ်ပုဒ်-ဝိသေသနပုဒ်၊ ကိရိယာဝေဂပုဒ်တို့ဖြင့်၊ ပရိယာယ် လဲလှယ်ဖြည့်စွက်၍ ရှေးနောက်ကာရန်၊ တချက်တချက်လောက်သာ ဆက်စပ်စေလျက်၊ ရေးသားသောစာမျိုးကို စကားပြေဟုခေါ်ပါသည်။

ဘော်ပြချက်။

ရှေးဆရာကြီးတို့ ရေးသားထားခဲ့သော လင်္ကာမဟုတ်သော ကျောက်စာများ၊ သိမ်အောင်စာများ၊ သုဓမ္မစာရိတ်ထုံး၊ မဟော်ဒ်ရိတ်ထုံး၊ ကျေးမင်းရိတ်ထုံး၊ ပြုမင်းရိတ်ထုံး၊ ရှင်ကျော်သူရိတ်ထုံး၊ မဟာပညာကျော်ရိတ်ထုံးများ၊ ဇာတ်ကြီး ၁၀ ခွဲဝတ္ထု၊ ဇိနတ္ထပကာသနီ၊ နရသာသန၊ ရာဇဝါဒ၊ ကန်တော်မင်းကျောင်းစသော ကျမ်းများနှင့်၊ မြန်မာဘာသာ ကျမ်းရေးရာတို့၌၊ ကျမ်း၏နိဒါန်းစကားများကို၊ စကားပြေရေးသားနည်းဟုခေါ်ပါသည်။

(ခ) စကားပြေရေးသားပုံ။

စကားပြေကိုရေးသားရာ၌၊ (က) အချက်ပါစကားပြင် ရေးသားပုံတွင်၊ ပြဆိုခဲ့ပြီးသော သဒ္ဒါနည်း၊ ဆန်းနည်း၊ အလင်္ကာနည်းများအတိုင်း ညီညွတ်ရမည်ဖြစ်၊ အထူးအားဖြင့်ကိန်း၊ လိင်၊ သင်္ချာ၊ ကာရက၊ နာမ်၊ နာမ်စာ၊ နာမ်မဝိသေသနတို့ကို အကျယ်ဝေတန်လျက်၊ မိမိတို့ဆိုလိုသော ဝါစာ၌ စကားချင်း

* Delivered at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Jubilee Hall, on 23rd January, 1918.

မထပ်စေရန်။ အမည်နာမ်အမျိုးမျိုးပရိယာယ်အမျိုးမျိုးတို့နှင့်တန်းဆာဆင်လျက်။ ပြေပြစ်ချောမောစွာကာရန်သင့်အောင် ရေးသားရလေသည်။ ဤကဲ့သို့သောစာမျိုးဖြစ်မှ စကားပြေကောင်းဟု ခေါ်ဆိုရပါကြောင်း။ မှီရွေးစေတဝန်ဆရာတော် အရိယဝံသ အာဒိစ္စရံသီ အရှင်သူမြတ်။ ရေးသားအပ်သော၊ ငါ ကျောင်းရေးလေးချိုးအဖြစ်။ ။ကျွန်းငယ်လည်းအသီးသီး။ ကျွန်းကြီးလည်းအရပ်ရပ်။ ကျွန်းလတ်လည်းအစုစု။ ထိုသူတို့၌။ နှစ်ခြိုက်မှတ်သား။ ရေးသားကြသည့်အရာမှာ၊ အက္ခရာမျိုးအလီလီ။ ။စသဖြင့်ရေးသားတော်မူခြင်း။ ။မှီရွေးမေတ္တာစာဟူ၍၎င်း။ ရာဇောဝါဒဟူ၍၎င်း။ ယခုတိုင် ထင်ရှားကျော်စောသောစာနှင့်။ အရိုးတော်ဆရာ။ မဟာထေရ်ကျော်။ ကန်တော်မင်းကျောင်း။ မေတ္တာလောင်းသော။ ဘုန်းပေါင်းကြက်သရေ။ ပရမေသီရိ။ ကိတ္တိဂုဏဝန်။ ထန်သည့်တေဇာ။ အချာလုထိပ်။ နှိပ်၍စိုးသော။ ဝှန်ဖြိုးရတနာ။ ရှေ့ဒါယကာ။ မဟာမေ့ရာဇ်။ ။စသဖြင့်၊ ကန်တော်မင်းကျောင်း မေတ္တာစာ၌ ရေးသားတော် မူခြင်းတို့သည်။ စကားပြေများဖြစ်ကြပါကြောင်း။

(၃) — (ဂ) လင်္ကာစီကုံးခြင်းမှာ။ (ခ) ဝါကျတွင် ဘော်ပြရာပါ—စကားပြေထက် စကားသုံးနူးညံ့သာယာသော သုံးလုံးစပ်လင်္ကာ။ လေးလုံးစပ်လင်္ကာဟူ၍ အမျိုးမျိုးရှိရာ။ အထူးအားဖြင့် လေးလုံးစပ်သောလင်္ကာကိုသာ။ ဤအရာ၌ဆိုလိုပါသည်။

(ဂ) လင်္ကာရေးသားပုံ။

(ခ) အချက်ပါ စကားပြေကဲ့သို့မဟုတ်။ အသတ် ၆ ပါး။ အစပ် ၆ ပါးနှင့်အညီ။ စကားပြေဖြစ်အောင်။ သုတိသာယာအောင်။ ပဒေသီရပ်ပါး။ ဝါကျဒေါသကိုးပါး။ ဝါကျတ္တဒေါသ ၆ ပါးတို့မှကင်းလွတ်စေ၍။ ဂိုဏ်းစောင့် ဂိုဏ်းနေနှင့်တကွ။ ပသာအစသောဂုဏ် ၁၀ ပါး။ ရသအကျိုးသုံးပါးတို့နှင့်အညီ။ ရေးသားစပ်ဆိုရသည့်ပြင်။ သဒ္ဒါနည်း။ ဆန်းနည်း။ ပေါရာဏာစရိယ ပရံပရ နည်းများနှင့် ပြည့်စုံစွာ ရေးသားစပ်ဆိုရပါသည်။

(ဂ) လင်္ကာစာမျိုးကာ။ ရခိုင်မင်းသမီးချင်းစသော ချင်းများ။ ပါရမီတော်ခဏ်းပျို။ စတုဓမ္မသာရပျို။ ဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်းများ။ ရွှေနန်းတော်မော်ကွန်းများ။ တောင်ငူစာတော်ရတုများမှစ၍။ အရာမကများလှစွာသော ပျို၊ လင်္ကာ၊ ရတု၊ ချင်းတို့ အများအပြားရှိကြပေ၏။ ၎င်းပျို၊ လင်္ကာ၊ ချင်း၊ ရတုမျိုးကို ရေးသားတော်မူကြသောဆရာကြီးများ၏ အမည်နှင့်။ ရေးသားသောစာများကို ထုတ်ပြရပါမူကာ။ အလွန်ကျယ်ဝန်းမည်ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ သို့ရာတွင် အကျဉ်းမျှဘော်ပြခဲ့သည့်စာကိုယ် အမည်များနှင့်တကွ။ ၎င်းတို့ကဲ့သို့ ရေးသားစပ်ဆိုသောစာမျိုး။ ကဗျာမျိုးတို့ကို လင်္ကာစာမျိုးဟုခေါ်ပါသည်။

အထက်ပါစာမျိုးကို အသုံးပြုကြပုံကား။ (က) စကားပြင်နှင့်၊ (ခ) စကားပြေမှာရောစပ်၍ သုံးနိုင်ပါသည်။ ထို့အတူ၊ (ခ) စကားပြေနှင့် (ဂ) လင်္ကာလည်း ရောစပ်နိုင်ပေ၏။ သို့ရာတွင်လင်္ကာသို့ စကားပြေမရောစပ်နိုင်။ စကားပြေသို့သာ လင်္ကာက ရောစပ်နိုင်သည်ဟု သတ်ပြတော်မူကြပါ။ စကားပြင်သက်သက်နှင့် လင်္ကာသည်ကား။ မည်သည့်အခါမှ မရောမစပ်နိုင် ဖြစ်ပါကြောင်း။

လင်္ကာအကြောင်းကိုဘော်ပြချက်။

လင်္ကာဆိုသည်မှာ။ အမည်အသီးသီးနှင့် ခေါ်ဆိုရသော ကဗျာ အမျိုးမျိုးရှိ၏။ ဤအရာ၌ လင်္ကာ။ ကဗျာ။ ဝီတဟူသောအမည်တို့သည်။ အလုံးစုံနှင့်ဆက်ဆံသော အမည်ဖြစ်ရာ။ ခွဲခြား၍ခေါ်လိုမှ။ စည်းဝါးနှင့်အညီ သီဆိုရသော ဝီတမျိုးဆိုင်ရာ။ သီချင်းခံပတ်ချို။ ကြိုးကြိုးတေးတျာဘွဲ့။ ယိုးဒယား။ အဲ။ တေးထပ်။ ရှစ်ဆယ်ပေါ်။ ခွေးချို။ ငြိချို။ လေးချို။ လေးဆစ်ကြီ။ ခွန်းထောက်။ သဖြန် စသည်တို့ကား။ တေးတျာဘက် ဝီတဟူ၍။ မြန်မာမှ၌ သီးခြားခေါ်ဆိုရပါ၏။ ပျို။ မော်ကွန်း။ လူးတာ။ အန်—ချင်း။ ရတု ရဲတင်းစသည်တို့ကား။ တေးတျာမှလွတ်သော၊ ဝီတကဗျာ လင်္ကာချည်းပင် မည်ချေသည်။ သို့ရာတွင် လေးလုံးစပ်ဖြစ်သော မောစိမ္မတ္တိုင်ချီ—ပါရမီခဏ်း။ ဇာတိပုညချီ စတုဓမ္မသာရကိုးခဏ်း။ သက္ကာဝတချီ—နေမိဘုံခဏ်းမှစ၍။ အထက်ပါ—ရတုချင်း။ မော်ကွန်း—စသောကဗျာ။ လင်္ကာအမျိုးမျိုးတို့ကိုပင်။ အမျိုးတူရာတူရာသို့ ပေါင်း၍။ ကဗျာလင်္ကာဟုခေါ်ကြပါကြောင်း။

(၄) — (က) စကားပြင်ကိုသက်သေတင်ပြခြင်း။

ဥပမာ။ ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာ လူကြီးလူငယ်မရွေးရရှိ။ အလွန် ထင်ရှားလှသော စကားပြင်ကြီး သက်သက် ကာ။ ။ဩကာသ။ ဩကာသ။ ကာယကံ။ ဝစီကံ။ မနောကံ—တည်းဟူသော.....စသည်ဖြင့် ပူဇော် ကန်တော့ကြသော—ရတနတ္ထယပဏာမကြီးသည် စကားပြင်သက်သက်မည်၏။ ထိုစကားပြင်ကြီးကိုကာ။ အဆက်ရှည်ဝေးလှသဖြင့်၊ မည်သည့်ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်ရေးသည်ဟူ၍မျှ မသိနိုင်ဖြစ်လေသည်။

(က+ခ) စကားပြင်နှင့် စကားပြေရောစပ်ပုံ။

စကားပြင်နှင့် စကားပြေရောစပ်ပုံမှာ အထက်ဘော်ပြရာ၌ပင် သိသာပါ၍၊ ဘော်ပြရန် မလိုတော့ ကြောင်း။

(၅) — (ခ+ဂ) စကားပြေနှင့်လင်္ကာစကားရောစပ်ပုံ။

အထက်တွင် ဘော်ပြခဲ့သော ကန်တော်မင်းကျောင်း မေတ္တာစာ၌၊ အရိုးတော်ဆရာ။ မဟာထေရ် ကျော်၊ ကန်တော်မင်းကျောင်း၊ မေတ္တာလောင်းသော၊မှစ၍၊ စကားပြေတွင် လင်္ကာစပ်ဝင်လျက် ရှိသည်။ လင်္ကာစပ်ဝင်သည့်အရာကို အောက်ကမည်းမဲဆွဲလျက် ပါရှိပါသည်။ ။တနည်း ဦးပုညတရားစာ တွင်။ ။ဟူသောဂါထာ၊ လင်္ကာပါဠိ၊ လာရှိသည်နှင့်အညီ၊ နီလာမြသား၊ ပြယားရတနာ၊ မလ္လာမကုဇ၊ ဥမ္မာရပန်းခိုင်၊ အဆိုင်အဆိုင်၊ ညှာပြိုင်ရုံးညီ၊ ကုံးသီချယ်တန့်၊ တကန့်တကန့်၊ ငှက်ခါးတောင်ဖြန့်သကဲ့သို့၊ စိမ်းဖန့်ဖန့်အလံ့၊ ရွှေဝတ်ဆံ့မှ၊ ကုက္ကိုမံရည်၊ ကြည်ကြည်ချေ၊ ပန်းယက်ယိုသော၊ ကြာညိုတောလည်း တ ထပ်။ ။ဟူ၍၎င်း။ ။ဒေါနဆီ—မေတ္တာစာ၌။ ။စလေဆရာ ကြားမှာလိုက်သည်၊ ရွှေမြို့တော်နေ၊ တ ကာမ မိရွှေသစ်၊ ဆရာရွှေမြို့တော်သို့ ရောက်လာရာ၊ သတိုးမင်းကြီး မဟာသက်တော်ရှည်ကတော်၊ မင်း ကင်းမြို့စား၊ တကာတော်မကစပ်သွယ်၍၊ ဆရာကို တကာမ မိရွှေသစ်သည်၊ အချစ်အရိုသေ၊ မေတ္တာရေ ဝင်သဖြင့်၊ အသင့်နှလုံးသွင်း၊ မောင်ရင်းပမာဏ၊ လောကမလွတ်၊ ဓမ္မဝတ်မသွေ၊ ရိုသေမြတ်နိုးသဖြင့်၊ အ သိုးအနုဌ၊ ဒေါနဆီအလုံ၊ ဂန္ဓာရုံကို၊ စည်းခုံပုထိုး၊ ရှိခိုးဝတ်တက်၊ ကပ်ဆက်သုတ်လိမ်းရန်လှူလိုက်ရာသေ ဖြင့်ရေးသားခြင်း။ ။ရှင်မဟာသီလဝံသ ရေးသားသော၊ ရတနာဗိမာန်ကျောင်း ကျောက်စာ၌ (ကျေးဇူး လက်မျှော်၊ ဆင်ခြေပေါ်၊ သမီးလှ၊ ရည်ရပ်ထွက်) ဟူ၍၎င်း။ ။ညောင်ရမ်းမင်းတရားကြီး ကောင်းမှု တော် အဝမြို့ရှိ၊ မဟာမုနိကျောက်စာ၌လည်း။ ။(သာသနာတော် နှစ်ထောင့် တရာ လေးဆယ်၊ စွန်း ကယ်တန့်၊ သက္ကရာဇ်သင်္ချာ၊ ကိုးရာဇ်ဆယ်၊ စွန်းသွယ်ကိုးခု) ဟူ၍၎င်း။ ။ရွှေသာလျောင်းကျောက် စာတွင်လည်း (သက္ကရာဇ်သင်္ချာ၊ ကိုးရာဇ်ဆယ်၊ စွန်းသွယ်နှစ်ခု၊ ဥတုဝဿ၊ လကားသစ်ဆင်း၊ တော်သ လင်းဆန်းတက်) ဟူ၍၎င်း ရေးသားတော်မူကြသော ကျောက်စာများသည် စကားပြေတွင် လင်္ကာရော စပ်သောစာမျိုးမည်၏။

လင်္ကာနှင့် စကားပြေရောစပ်ရာ၌၊ စကားကောင်းစကားခန့်ကြီးများ ထည့်သွင်း၍ရေးသားနိုင်လျှင်၊ စကားပြေတွင် အကောင်းဆုံးဟု ခေါ်ရပါသည်။ သာလွန်မင်းတရားကြီး ကောင်းမှုတော်၊ ရာဇမင်္ဂါစူဠာ စေတီတော်ကျောက်စာ၌။ ။ဘဒ္ဒကပ်ကမ္ဘာ၊ မြေ၏အချာ၊ ပေါ်စခင်း၊ ရွှေကြာနိမိတ်၊ ဟိတ်နှင့်မထူး၊ မြတ်သုံးဦးတို့၊ ခပ်ကူးနိဗ္ဗာန်၊ ညှာရပ်ဆန်မှ၊ နှောင်းကျန်တုန်းဟေ့၊ မိတေးရွှေ၌၊ ရန်ငွေပယ်ခွါ၊ တို့သကျာ လျှင်။ ။ဟူ၍၎င်း။ ။စလေဦးပုည ရေးသားသော—တရားစာ နိဒါန်းရောင်ခြည်တော်ဘွဲ့၌။ ။မဟာ မုနိ၊ ဗောဓိရန်နှိပ်၊ ညောင်ရိပ်ပင်ဝန်း၊ ထွန်းသည့်အလား၊ ဝန်းလျားနံဘီ၊ တလံညီသော၊ စံသီဂီစင်၊ ရွှေ ကိုယ်တော်ဝန်းကျင်မှ၊ မှင်ပိတုန်းရောင်၊ မျက်စဉ်းတောင်ကဲ့သို့၊ မှောင်တယိုယို၊ မိုသီးလုံးရှိမျှ၊ ညှိသောရောင် ခြည်တော်ဟူ၍၎င်း။ ။ကြည်းသံ လေးထပ်ဆရာတော်တရားကြီး ရေးသားတော်မူအပ်သော၊ ဗုဒ္ဓထောမ နာဝန္ဒနာစာတစ်ဆွဲ။ ။အဝိဇ္ဇေယျ၊ အပ္ပမေယျ၊ သေဌဇေဌ၊ အတုလပရမံ၊ အရဟံတဂဝါ၊ သမ္မာသမ္ဗုဒ္ဓ၊ နက္ခရာမရဇိ၊ တိလောကန္တဂုဏ်၊ သယမ္ပုဘဝိဿရ၊ ဤသို့စသဖြင့်၊ အသင်္ခေယျ၊ နာမတံဆိပ်၊ ဂုဏ်ပိ သိ၍ဖြင့်၊ ဇဗ္ဗုဒ္ဓိတိမှတက်၍၊ ဘဝဂံတိုင် ကြော်ငြာလျက်၊စသည်ဖြင့်၊ ရေးတော်မူကြပုံ နည်းနာမျိုး သည်၊ စကားပြေ ပိသေသကြီးများဖြစ်၍၊ ရှေးဆရာကြီးတို့က “စကားပြေကြီး” ဟုခေါ်ဝေါ်ပါကြောင်း။

ထိုစကားပြေကြီးမျိုးကို ရေးသားရန်ကား၊ လင်္ကာချော—လင်္ကာကောင်း—များလောက်ပင်ခက်၏။ လင်္ကာကို၊ လည်ပတ်ကျင်လည်စွာမတတ်က၊ ဤကဲ့သို့ကောင်းအောင်မရေးနိုင်ချေ။ ။

(၆) — အသတ် ၆ ပါးကိုပြခြင်း။

၆-ချိန်ခွင်လျာစပ်နည်းမှာ၊ အစပ်ကာရန် ၃ ချက်တွင်၊ အလယ်ပါဒကဂရ၊ ရွှေနောက် ၂ ဘက်က
လဟုသံသွပ်သော်ငြင်း။ ထို့အတူလဟုသံကို ဂရုညှပ်သော်ငြင်း။ အလယ်ကနေသောအသက်သည့် ချိန်ခွင်
၏လျာနှင့်တူသောကြောင့်၊ ချိန်ခွင်လျာစပ်နည်းဟုဆိုပါသည်။ ။(ပြယုဂ်ကာ။ • မည်တွင်မတ်။ ကုဏ္ဍိ၊
ထိန်ဟု၊ ခမ်းပြိဿယာ။ ။ဘူရိဒတ်ဇာတ်ပေါင်း။ ။ကြေငြာစပ်သိမ်း၊ ရန်စပ်ထိန်းလည်း၊ မဝိန်းပူးပါ။ ။
ပုံတောင်နိုင်မော်ကွန်း။ ။(ယခုပါရှိသော၊ နောက်အစပ်ကို ကြည့်လျှင်၊ ထိုချိန်ခွင်လျာစပ်၌၊ ဂရု-လဟု
၂ ပါးလုံးပင်၊ အလယ်ကထား၍ စပ်နိုင်ပေ၏။)

လင်္ကာရေးသားနည်းကို ပြခဲ့ပြီးဖြစ်၍၊ တေးထင်ရှစ်ဆယ်ပေါ်အေးချိုး၊ ဩချိုး၊ ဘောလယ်၊ ပတ်ပျိုး၊ ကြိုးကြိုးဘွဲ့ယိုးအသား၊ ခွန်းထောက်၊ သဖြန်စသောရေးသားနည်းတို့ကို ဘော်ပြသင့်ပါသော်လည်း၊ အလွန် ကျယ်ဝန်းမည်ဖြစ်ပါ၍၊ လျစ်လျူရှုရပါတော့သည်။

(၇) —ဤအရာ၌၊ စကားပြင်နှင့် လင်္ကာသည်၊ မည်သည့်အရာက အလျင်ပေါ်ပါသနည်းဟူမူ၊ သာမညကဗျာမျိုးက၊ စကားပြင်အလျင်ဖြစ်ထိုက်၏။ အဘယ်ကြောင့်နည်းဟူလျှင်၊ ပြောဆိုသောစကားက ပဌမဖြစ်သော်လည်း၊ ဂီတမျိုးသည်၊ စာမရှိမီကပင် ရှိထိုက်သောကြောင့်တည်း။ ဥပမာ။ ။အမယ်ကြီးနှင့် —ဘကြီးစိတ်မတူ၊ မင်းရဲအောင်ယူ။ သည်အပူတခါအောင်၊ တိုးကြံပလေး။ ။စသော ကဗျာဂီတမျိုးက မူ၊ စာပေမရှိမီကပင် ပေါ်ထိုက်သောကြောင့်တည်း။

စကားပြေနှင့်လင်္ကာ ဘယ်ကအလျင် ဖြစ်ပါသနည်းဟူမူ၊ လင်္ကာတိုကလေးက အလျင်ဖြစ်ထိုက်၏။ အဘယ်ကြောင့်နည်းဟူလျှင်၊ ဂီတဟူသည်၊ ကြီးငယ်မရွေး စိတ်ကိုပျော်ရွှင်စေသောကြောင့်၎င်း၊ အထက် ပါလင်္ကာတိုကလေးများကဲ့သို့သော သီဆိုပျော်ရွှင်မှုဆိုင်ရာ၊ တေးကဗျာလေးများကို၊ ကလေးသူငယ်တို့ပင် သော်လည်း၊ မိမိတို့သဘောအတိုင်း စုစုံသီဆိုတတ်ကြသည်ကို၎င်း ထောက်သော်၊ စကားပြေကို မရေး သားတတ်ကြမိကပင်၊ လောကတန္တူ၊ လူမှုချင်းရာ၊ ဓမ္မတာအတိုင်း၊ ရှေးဦးစွာ ဖြစ်ပေါ်ထိုက်ပါကြောင်း။

သို့ရာတွင်၊ လင်္ကာကဗျာ—ဆိုသော်လည်း၊ သာမည ကဗျာ—ဝိသေသကဗျာ—ဟူ၍၎င်း—ပိုင်းခြား သော်၊ သာမညကဗျာငယ်—ကဗျာတိုကလေးများသည်၊ စကားပြေနှင့် စကားပြေတို့ အလျင်ဖြစ်ပေါ်ထိုက် ပေသည်။ စကားပြေမှာ၊ အလွန်ယဉ်ကျေးသောစကား—ရှည်လျားသောဝါကျ၊ ကောင်းမွန်သော အဖွဲ့အနွဲ့ များဖြစ်၍၊ သာမညလင်္ကာ၏ နောက်မှဖြစ်ထိုက်ပေသည်။ ဤအရာ၌—သက်သေကား၊ ရှေးသားရန် စာမှမ ရှိသော၊ ဗိလက္ခအရိုင်းအစိုင်းတို့၌တုံ့သော်လည်း၊ တောင်ရိုး—တောင်ရိုးသြစသော—ကဗျာ လင်္ကာသာ မည ဂီတတိုကလေးများ ရှိကြသည်ကို ဆင်ခြင်ပါ (ယင်းသို့ဖြစ်ပါ၍၊ ဖြစ်ပေါ်သင့်သော အစီအစဉ်ကား၊

(က) သာမညလင်္ကာတို့၊ (ခ) စကားပြေရေးနည်း၊ (ဂ) ဝိသေသလင်္ကာနှင့် စကားပြေဟူ၍ ဤသို့အ စီအစဉ်ဖြစ်ထိုက်ပါကြောင်း။)

ဝိသေသကဗျာ လင်္ကာရှည်မှာကား၊ လူမျိုးယဉ်ကျေးတိုင်း အဆင့်ဆင့်အားဖြင့်တိုးတက်၍ကောင်း မွန်လာကြရာ၏။ ဤဝိသေသဖြစ်သော လင်္ကာကြီး—လင်္ကာကောင်းများနှင့် စကားပြေမူကား၊ ရှေ့နောက် မရွေးချယ်နိုင်ရှိပေသည်။ အကြောင်းကိုကြည့်သော်၊ ၂—မျိုးလုံးပင် ယဉ်ကျေးသော အသုံးအစွဲမျိုး ဖြစ်သောကြောင့် မရွေးမနှောင်းဖြစ်ထိုက်ပါကြောင်း။

(ဂ) —ယင်းသို့ဖြစ်လျှင်၊ ထိုကဗျာလင်္ကာမျိုးသည်၊ မည်သည့်အခါကစတင်၍ ဖြစ်ပေါ်ပါသနည်းဟု မေးဘွယ်ရှိရာ၊ အဖြေကား အလွန်ရှည်ဝေးသော ရှေးအထက်ကာလ၊ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့မြန်မာလူမျိုးအစလောက် ကပင် ဖြစ်ပေမည်။ အဘယ်ကြောင့်နည်းဟူလျှင် “မြန်မာအစ—တကောင်းက” ဟူသော စကားအတိုင်း၊ ရှေ့တွင်ဘော်ပြလတုံ့သော တကောင်းမြို့ကောင်းစားစဉ်က၊ ကြိုးဟောင်းဘွဲ့ဟောင်းများနှင့် ပုံပြည့်၊ သေဉ် လည်ကြောင်မင်း လက်ထက်လောက်ကပေါ်သော၊ ပုပ္ဖနတ်တောင်ဘွဲ့၊ သိုက်စာလင်္ကာများ၊ ဤစွာမင်း ကြီးလက်ထက်၊ မြန်မာတော်လင်္ကာများ ရှိသည်ကို စဉ်းစားထိုက်ပါ၏။

၎င်းပြင် မြန်မာ ပျို့လင်္ကာနှင့် ကဗျာဂီတတို့သည်၊ မည်သည့်မင်း လက်ထက်က စ၍ ဖြစ်သည်ဟု ကျောက်စာအမှတ်အသားများ မတွေ့မမြင်ဘူးခြေ၊ ထိုသို့မတွေ့မမြင် ရရှိလေငြားသော်လည်း၊ ၎င်းမြန်မာ လူမျိုးတို့တွင်၊ စာနှင့်ပျို့လင်္ကာမရှိဟုဆိုသော်၊ ယုတ္တိသင့်မည် မထင်ကြောင်း၊ အကြောင်းကိုဆိုသော်၊ ရေး သားသောအကွရာစာဟူသည် သင်္ကေတသညာ ဖြစ်သောကြောင့်၊ ခေတ်ကာလအလိုက် သုံးစွဲရေးမှတ်ပုံ မှာ၊ သူ့နည်းနှင့်သူ—သူ့ခေတ်နှင့်သူ အမျိုးမျိုး ထုံးစံရှိပေလိမ့်မည်။ ဤသို့ယူမှသာ ယုတ္တိသင့်မြတ်ပြီးလျှင်၊ ထုံးစံမလေ့ ရှေ့နောက် အဖြစ်များနှင့်လည်း ညီညွတ်မည်ဟု ဆိုထိုက်ပါကြောင်း။

အကယ်၍ ၎င်းတို့ရေးသားသော စာမရှိ—ပျို့လင်္ကာ မရှိဟု ယူဆလိုလျှင်၊ လူလည်း မရှိဟု ဆိုရမ လောက် ရှိနေလေသည် ဖြစ်၍၊ ဝိရောဓိဒေါသသို့ သက်ရောက်လေသည်။ ဥပမာ၊ ယခုခေတ်ကာလ၌၊ ဥ ရောပတိုက်သားတို့ ထုံးစံမလေ့အားဖြင့်၊ မိမိတို့အိမ်တွင်သော်၎င်း၊ ဝင်းခြံဝှံ့သော်၎င်း (Signboard) ဆိုင်းဘုတ်များဆွဲထားကြသော မြန်မာလူကြီးလူကောင်း အများရှိ၏။ ထိုကဲ့သို့ ဆိုင်းဘုတ်မဆွဲသော မြန်

မာလုမျိုး အများလည်း ရှိကြလေသည်။ ၎င်းမထားသောအိမ်တွင်၊ အိမ်ရှင်စာမတတ်ဟူ၍ မယူထိုက်ချေ။ ၎င်းတို့သည် ယခုကာလ အသစ်ထုံးစံကို မလိုက်သေးသောကြောင့်သာ မထားပေဟု ယူမှသာ၊ သင့်မြတ် မှန်ကန်နိုင်လေသည်။ ဤဥပမာအတိုင်း၊ ပုဂံပြည် အနော်ရထာမင်းစောမှ အထက်မင်းတို့လက်ထက်တော် များ၌၊ ကျောက်စာရေးသားခြင်း ထုံးစံလေ့ နည်းပါး၍သာ ယခုကာလ ရှာတွေ့ရာတွင် မတွေ့ဖြစ်လေ သည်ဟူ၍သာ ယူထိုက်လေကြောင်း။

အထက်ပါ ဥပမာအတိုင်း ဆိုင်းဘုတ်မထားသော်လည်း၊ ၎င်းအိမ်ရှင်၌ စာမတတ်စာမရှိဟု မယူ ရသကဲ့သို့၊ ကျောက်စာသံပိုင်းပင် မရှိသော်လည်း၊ အနော်ရထာမင်းစောမှ၊ အထက်မင်းတို့ လက်ထက် တော်၌ရေးသားသော၊ မြန်မာစာရှိ၏။ ပျို့လင်္ကာလည်းရှိ၏။ ထိုကြောင့် တကောင်းမြို့ကောင်းစားစဉ်က ရေးသားသော၊ ၁-ဘောင်လားကြီးဟောင်း။ ၂-ဘောင်ငင်ကြီးဟောင်း။ ၃-ဘောင်ဆိုက်ကြီးဟောင်း။ ဟူ၍ ကဗျာ ၃ ပုဒ်ထင်ရှားရှိလေသည်။ ထိုကဗျာကြီးဟောင်းကို၊ ပညာရှင်တို့ ဆင်ချင်စဉ်းစားတော်မူရန် အောက်၌ဘော်ပြပါအံ့။

၁။ ဘောင်သားကြီးဟောင်း။ ။ဘယ်ဘယ်တဲ၊ ဘယ်ကမ္ဘာတွင်၊ ကြားရဘူးတဲ၊ စိုးမိုးစိုးမိုးပိုင် တည်လေးချီ၍။—ထဲပိုက်ကာတည် ထဲပိုက်ကာ။ ။ဟုချသောကဗျာ။

၂။ ဘောင်ငင်ကြီးဟောင်း။ ။ကမ်းကမ်းကမ်းကွါ၊ စည်ညာမြိန်သဲ။ ကြေညာတန်းလှိုဆွဲချီ၍။— တိမ်စွန်းလက်ဆွယ်လေတည်၊ တိမ်စွန်းလက်ဆွယ်။ ။ဟုချသောကဗျာ။ ။

၃။ ဘောင်ဆိုက်ကြီးဟောင်း။ ။ဖျော်ဖြေလို့ နေပါရင်လေ ချီ၍။—ထဲပိုက်ကာတည်— ထဲပိုက် ကာ။ ။ဟုချသောကဗျာ။ ။

ဤကြီးဟောင်း ၃ ပုဒ်၏ စတည်ဖြစ်ပေါ်သော၊ အခါကာလ၊ ခုနစ်သက္ကရာဇ်ကိုမူ၊ သေချာစွာ စာ ပေမတွေ့မီ၊ ထိုသို့မတွေ့မိသော်လည်း၊ ၎င်းတေး ပဌမပုဒ်တွင်၊ (လောကလောင်းမင်းထွဋ်ချာ) ဟုပါရှိ သည့်စကားရပ်နှင့် (မူးရေပင်စီးလာဝင်၊ ဖြိုးပြည့်လျှမ်းလျှမ်း ဘောင်နန်းစကြာလေစီးကြမ်းပေါင်း) ဟု သောစကားတို့၏ အဓိပ္ပါယ်များကိုထောက်သော်၊ မူးမြစ်၌ မဟာဆွေတော်မျိုးတော်များ ရေသတင် စံ ရွှင်ရာတွင်၊ ဘောင်တော်လားကြီး၊ ဘောင်တော်ငင် ဆွဲရာဆိုက်ရာ၌ သီဆိုသောကြီး ဖြစ်သည်ဟု အ ဓိပ္ပါယ်ရလေသည်။

(လောကလောင်းမင်း—ထွဋ်ချာ) ဟူသော စကားကိုထောက်ကာ၊ တကောင်းမြို့တွင် စံတော်မူကြ သောမင်းငါးကျိပ်တို့တွင်၊ မင်းဆက် ၂၂ ဆက်မြောက်မှ၊ ၀ရရာဇာ မင်း၏သား၊ အလောင်းရာဇာ ဟု ၍ရှိသည်။ ထိုမင်းပင် ဖြစ်မည်ဟု ယူထိုက်ပါ၏။ အဘယ်ကြောင့်နည်းဟူလျှင်၊ တကောင်းမင်း ငါးကျိပ်တို့ အနက်၊ အလောင်းရာဇာဘွဲ့ ခံယူသောမင်းသည် ၎င်းတပါးသာ ရှိသောကြောင့်တည်း။ ။၎င်းမင်းမှ နောက် ၁၂ ဆက်မြောက်မှ၊ ကပိလဝတ်ပြည်၊ ဝိဇ္ဇူပဘေးကြောင့်ပျက်ခဲ့ရာတွင်၊ သာကီဝင်မင်း ဇေရာဇာ ပြေးထွက်လာပြီးမှ၊ တကောင်းမြို့ကို ပဉ္စာလမြို့ သမုတ်တော်မူပြီးလျှင်၊ (ဇေဒုပဇေရာဇာ) ဟူသောဘွဲ့ ကိုခံယူ၍ မင်းပြုသည်ဟု၊ ရာဇဝင်များတွင် ဆိုသောကြောင့်၊ သက္ကရာဇ်ပုံ အင်းစောက်ချ၊ တကောင်းရာဇ ဝင်၊ ရာဇဝင်ကျော်၊ မှန်နန်း မဟာရာဇဝင်တော်များနှင့် နှိုင်းချိန်သော်၊ ထိုတကောင်းပြည် အလောင်းမင်း သည်၊ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ဘုရား ပွင့်တော်မမူမီက၊ ဖြစ်ထွန်းတည်ရှိသောမင်း ဖြစ်လေ၏။ ဘုရားပွင့်တော်မူသောကာ လနှင့်သော်ကာ၊ ကလေးရာဇဂြိုဟ်ကိုတည်ထောင်စံနေသောမောရိယရာဇာမင်း၊ ၎င်းပြည်မှ တရုတ်တရက် တို့ဘေးကြောင့်၊ ပြေးထွက်၍လာခဲ့ကြသော ဘိန္နကရာဇာ မင်းဆက်တို့နှင့်သာ ဆိုင်မိလေသတည်း။

ထိုတကောင်းမင်းတို့ လက်ထက် ကပင်၊ မြန်မာ တေး၊ ကြီးဟောင်း၊ ဘွဲ့ဟောင်းတို့ ရှိလေ သော ကြောင့်၊ ပျို့ကဗျာ လင်္ကာရေးနည်း ပညာနှင့်၊ ပျို့ကဗျာ လင်္ကာတို့သည်၊ စကန်ရှိမည် ဖြစ်ကြောင်း ထင် ရှားလေသည်။ ၎င်းပြင် ဤကြီးဟောင်းကို ရေးသားပုံ စာသွားအဓိပ္ပါယ်ကို ကြည့်ပြန်ကလည်း၊ ၎င်းပြင်ဤ ကြီးဟောင်းကို ရေးသားပုံစာသွား၊ အဓိပ္ပါယ်ကို ကြည့်ပြန်ကလည်း၊ မိလက္ခ-အမိလ-ကိုရာတ ဘာသာ မျိုးဆိုကဲ့သို့၊ ဖုန်မျှည်း သဒ္ဒါကရိုက်၊ ပယတ်တို့ မထင်ရှားသော—စကားမျိုးမဟုတ်။ အလွန်ယဉ်ကျေးသိမ် မွေသော ပုဒ်မျှည်းသဒ္ဒါစသော ဂုဏ်အင်္ဂါတို့နှင့်ပြည့်စုံသော အဘွဲ့ဖြစ်၏။ ၎င်းကဗျာကို ရေးသားသောစာ လည်း မူရင်း၏ဟု ယူထိုက်ပြန်ပါကြောင်း။

(၉) - ငင်းပြင် ပုဂံပြည်တွင်ဖြစ်သော ရှေးဟောင်းစကားများ။

ပုပ္ဖါးနတ်တောင်ဘွဲ့။ ၁။ သိုးကလေး။ ပုပ္ဖါးနတ်တောင်။ သာခေါင်မြင့်များ။ ငုံတောပြား၍။ နံ့ရှားကြိုင်လွင့်။ ခါတန်ပွင့်သည်။ ။ ရွှေနှင့်ရိုးမှားပန်းစကား။ ။

၂။ သိုးကလေး။ စကားပွင့်နှင့်။ နှိုင်းတင်နှိုးသည်။ ရဲမျိုးသမီး။ မောင်ကြီးနှမ။ ညက်လှပြာစင်။ မယ်သည်ပင်သည်။ ခရီးသား။ ။

၃။ သိုးကလေး။ မြိတ်လွတ်စုလည်။ အငယ်တည်းက။ ကျွမ်းဝင်ကြသည်။ မွေးဘာတူရင်း။ မျိုးသည်ရင်းနှင့်။ ချစ်ခြင်းစုရုံး။ သက်ထက်ဆုံးသည်။ ။ နှလုံးမခြားစောင့်တရာ။ ။

၄။ သိုးကလေး။ ဆွေမိမင်းဟုတ်။ မျက်သုတ်နီစင်။ ရထည်ဖျင်နှင့်။ ကျိုင်းသင်မြဝါ။ မတ်ကြီးလျာကို။ ။ မယ်သာကျိုက်မိ။ တုမရှိ။

ယခုတော်ပြသော ပုပ္ဖါးနတ်တောင်ဘွဲ့လင်္ကာဟောင်း ၄ ပိုဒ်ရှိရာ။ ပုဂံပြည်။ သေဉ်လည်ကြောင်မင်းလက်ထက်ဟု ဆိုကြပါ၏။ ဤနတ်တောင်ဘွဲ့၌။ သိုးကလေးဟု ခေါ်ခြင်းသည်။ နတ်ထိန်း နတ်ဝင်တို့ ပူဇော်ပသကြသောအခါ။ ဆောင်းသောဦးထုပ်ကိုဆိုဟန်ရှိပါသည်။ “သိုးကလေး” ဆိုကဦးထုပ်ကလေး။ “သိုးကြီး” ဆိုက ဦးထုပ်ကြီးဟုယူပါ။ ရှေးသူဟောင်းတို့က ဦးထုပ်ကို သိုးဟုခေါ်ဆိုသည်။ ထို့ကြောင့် ဦးထုပ်ဆောင်းသူကို သိုးဆောင်းသူမျိုးဟု ခေါ်ပါကြောင်း။

ငင်းပြင် ပုဂံပြည် - ဆေပဉ္စာ (၅၆၀) ကိန်းမပြီမီ။ (၄၁၆) ခုနှစ်မင်းဖြစ်သော သာရမ္ပန်များမင်းလက်ထက်။ ရှင်ဗုဒ္ဓစောသစင်ဆိုသည်။ မနုဗ္ဗသတ်လင်္ကာလည်း အထင်အရှားရှိပေ၏။ ထိုပုဂံပြည် သာရမ္ပန်များမင်းနှင့် - စစ်ကိုင်း၌၊ ထူပါရုံဒါယကာ - နရပတိကြီးမင်းသော်ကား၊ နှစ်ပေါင်း ၉၄၀ နှစ်ကွာခြားကြ၏။ ထို့ကြောင့် နရပတိကြီးလက်ထက်မှစ၍၊ မြန်မာ ပျိုလင်္ကာတို့ ပေါ်ထွန်းလာသည်ဟူသော စကားသည်မှားယွင်းလေသည်။

(၁၀) - ဆေပဉ္စာ ကိန်းပြီပြီးနောက်၊ မြန်မာသက္ကရာဇ် (၅၁၆) ခုနှစ်တွင်၊ ပုဂံပြည်၊ နရပတိစည်သူမင်းလက်ထက်။ နောင်တော် မင်းယဉ်နယသိင်္ခမင်း၏ အထိန်းတော်သား။ အနန္တသူရိယအမတ်ကို ဘမ်း၍၊ သူသတ်တို့အား အပ်လေ၏။ ထိုအနန္တသူရိယ အမတ်သည်၊ ရဲရင့်တည်ကြည်စွာ သတ်အံ့မှူးမှူးတွင်၊ စာလင်္ကာ ၄ ပိုဒ်ဆို၍ မင်းကြီးအား ဆက်ပါလေဟုအပ်ခဲ့၏။ ထိုစာလင်္ကာ ၄ ပိုဒ်ကား၊ ၁။ သူတည်းတယောက်။ ကောင်းသို့ရောက်မှ။ သူတယောက်မှာ။ ပျက်လင့်ကာသာ - မွေတာတည်း။ ။ ရွှေအိမ်နန်းနှင့်။ ကြွန်းလည်ခံ။ မတ်ပေါင်းရံလျက်။ ပျော်စံရိပ်ညိုမ။ စည်းစိမ်မကွာ။ မင်းချမ်းသာကာ။ သမုဒ္ဒရာ။ ရေမျက်နှာထက်။ ခဏတက်သည်။ ရေပွက်ပမာ။ တသက်လျာတည်း။ ၂။ ကျင်နာသနား။ ငါ့အားမသတ်။ ယခုလွတ်လည်။ မလွတ်ကြမ္မာ။ လူတကာတို့။ ခန္ဓာခိုင်ကျည်။ အတည်မမြဲ။ ဖေါက်လွဲတတ်သည်။ မချွတ်စသာ - သတ္တဝါတည်း။ ၄။ ရှိခိုးကော်ရော် - ပူဇော်အကျွန်း။ ပန်ခဲတုံ၏။ ခိုက်ကြိပ်ပါက်။ သံသာစက်၌။ ကြိုက်လတွန်မှ။ တုံမယူလို။ ကြည်ညိုစိတ်သန်။ သခင်မွန်ကို။ ချန်တံစင်စစ်။ အပြစ်မဲ့ရေး။ ခွင့်လျှင်ပေး၏။ သွေသည်အနိစ္စာ။ ငါ့ခန္ဓာတည်း။

ဤလင်္ကာ ၄ ပိုဒ်ကိုရေးသားပေးခဲ့သော်လည်း။ အနန္တသူရိယအမတ်ကြီးကိုသတ်ပြီးမှ။ မင်းကြီးအား ဘတ်လျှောက်ကြရာ။ လွတ်လေဟု အမိန့်ရှိတော်မူလေ၏။ သူသတ်တို့က လွန်ခဲ့ပြီဟု နားတော်လျှောက်ရာတွင်။ နင်တို့မသတ်မီကပင်။ ဤစာကိုဘတ်လျှောက်သင့်လျက်။ သတ်ပြီးမှလျှောက်ရာသလောဟု။ မျက်ပြန်လေ၏။ မင်းကြီးလည်း စာကိုကြားတော်မူကတည်းကပင်။ တအောက်ဆွေမှ။ တရွက်မက်မက်နှင့်။ နောင်တကြီးစွာဖြစ်တော်မူလေ၏။

ထိုနေ့မှစ၍။ သတ်စေဟုအမိန့်ကျသောသူကို။ တလလေးသီတင်းထား၍စစ်ကြောပြီးလျှင်။ သေထိုက်မှသာ သေစေရမည်ဟု။ မဟာသမန်းတို့အား မှာထားတော်မူကြောင်း။ မှန်နန်းရာဇဝင်။ ပုဂံရာဇဝင်တို့တွင် အထင်အရှား ရှိလေသောကြောင့်။ ပုဂံပြည် နောက်ဆက်မင်းဘိုး၌လည်း။ ပျိုလင်္ကာရှိကြောင်း ထင်ရှားလေသည်။ ။ ဤအနန္တသူရိယရေးသော လင်္ကာ ၄ ပိုဒ်သည်။ အလွန်ခက်ကန်သော နရပတိစည်သူမင်း၏စိတ်ကို နူးညံ့အောင် ဆုံးမနိုင်သော သတ္တိဂုဏ်တူးရှိပေသည်။ အသတ်အစပ် အဓိပ္ပာယ်များလည်း နက်နဲလှပေသည်။ ငင်းစာကို အချို့သောသူတို့က။ မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ၌ ၄ လုံးစပ်ပျိုလင်္ကာရေးသားနည်း ပဌမ

ပေါ်ပေါက်လာသော လင်္ကာဟု ဆိုကြလေကြောင်း။ ဤကားပုဂံနန်းဆက်တွင် ပျိုလင်္ကာရှိကြောင်းသက်သေတည်း။

(၁၁)-ငင်းပြင်၊ မြင်စိုင်းရှေ့နန်းရှင် လက်ထက်။ ရှင်သဒ္ဓမ္မပါလမထေရ် ရေးသားစပ်ဆိုသော၊ မွေ့သတ်လင်္ကာတို့ ရှိနေကြသေးသည်ပြင်။ သက္ကရာဇ် (၇၁၄) ခုနှစ်။ ပိဗေယျာပူရမည်သော ပင်းယမြို့၌ နန်းတက်သော ဆင်ဖြူလေးစီးရှင်၊ သီဟသူမင်းလက်ထက်။ ပြည်မြို့ဇာတိ၊ အတွင်းဝန် သီရိမဟာ စတုရင်္ဂဗလ အမတ်ကြီးက။ ပုဂံမြို့၊ ရွှေစည်းခုံဘုရားအနီး၌။ သီတင်းသုံးနေတော်မူသော။ ပေါ်က္ကံ ဆရာတော်ဘုရားထံ ကဗျာစီ၍။ (က) (ရွှေဘူးတော်အောက်) ချီပြီးလျှင်။ ။ရှင်လန်းဝမ်းမြောက်တော် မူစေသော။ ။ ချသောလင်္ကာ။ (ခ) (မင်း၏တရား) ချီပြီးလျှင်။ ။ပျောက်အောင် ဖျောက်တော် မူစေသော။ ။ ချသောလင်္ကာ။ (ဂ) (နာမ်နှင့်ရုပ်ကို) ချီပြီးလျှင်။ ။ဖြေရိုးကောက်တော်မူစေသော။ ။ချသောလင်္ကာ ၃ ပိုဒ်ကိုရေးသားမေးလျှောက်လေရာ။ ပေါ်က္ကံဆရာတော်က။ ။(ဃ) (အထွေအထွေ၊ မေးတိုင်းဖြေအံ့) ချီ၍။ ။(အမှန်မှတ်နေရာတံ့) ဟုချသောလင်္ကာ။ ။(င) (နိရောဓအထွေ၊ သမာပတ်ကို) ချီ၍။ ။(သဘောမှန်ပစ္စာတံ့) ဟုချသောလင်္ကာ။ ။(စ) (အံ့ချီကြား၍၊ တရားသံဝေ၊ ရကုန်စေလော့၊ ချီ၍ (ဟောမှတ်စကန်သာတံ့) ဟုချသောလင်္ကာရတု ၃ ပိုဒ်ဖြင့်ပြန်၍ဖြေကြားတော်မူသည်။ ဤအမေး ၃ ပိုဒ် အဖြေ ၃ ပိုဒ်သည်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် (၇၁၄) ခုနှစ်တွင်ဖြစ်သောကြောင့်။ ဤအရာတွင် အလွန်ထင်ရှားသော သက်သေကြီးတခု ဖြစ်လေ၏။ ။ငင်းပြင်စတည် ဖြစ်ပေါ်လာသော မင်းမည်ခုနှစ်၊ သေချာစွာ မပါသဖြင့်၊ ကြံစည်၍ အဓိပ္ပါယ်ယူဆရန်ဖြစ်သော၊ တေးကဗျာ ၆ ပိုဒ်ရှိပြန်၏။ ထိုသို့ရှိသော မောင်ဘွဲ့သီချင်း ၆ ပိုဒ်မှာ၊ ချစ်တဲ့သူငယ်လေ။ သူငယ်ချင်းကောင်း ရောင်းမတိုလေးဟု၊ အစ၄ ပိုဒ်တွင်ချီသော အိုင်ချင်းတေးကဗျာ ၆ ပိုဒ်တို့ဖြစ်လေသည်။ ထိုတေးကဗျာတို့၏ ဖြစ်ရင်းမူလကို၊ ပညာရှိအများတို့နှင့် စုံထောက်မေးမြန်းသော်၊ အချို့က အလောင်း မင်းတရားကြီး လက်ထက်တွင်၊ ရေးသားသောစာဟု ပြောသည်။ အချို့က၊ ပုဂံ အနော်ရထာမင်းစော လက်ထက်က ရေးသားသောစာဟု ပြောသည်။

ငင်းစကား ၂ ရပ်ကို စဉ်းစားဆင်ခြင်သော်။ ။ပဌမပိုဒ်အလိုမှာ၊ မိမိချစ်သောသူကို တမ်းတ မှာထားသောစကား။ ။ဒုတိယပိုဒ်မှာ၊ မိဘကဖျက်ဆီးထားသော ရဲစားကြောင့်၊ ပုန်သောက ရောက်ရှိနေပုံစကား။ ။တတိယပိုဒ်မှာ မိဘတို့ဖျက်ဆီး၍၊ ငယ်လင်နှင့် ကွဲကွာနေရသည်အတွက်။ ဘွဲ့နွဲ့ရေးသားသောစကား။ စတုတ္ထပိုဒ်မှာ၊ စစ်ချီရာသို့ပါသွားသော၊ မိမိချစ်သူထံသို့ ပေးသောစကား။ ။ပဉ္စမပိုဒ်မှာ၊ မိမိချစ်သူနှင့်အတူ၊ လှည်းယာဉ်စီး၍၊ မြေထူးဈေးသို့ သွားလိုသောစကား။ ။ဆဋ္ဌမပိုဒ်မှာ၊ မိမိချစ်သောသူရဟန်းခံ၍ သွားသောကြောင့်၊ တမ်းတလွမ်းဆွတ်သောစကားများ အသီးသီးပါရှိကြလေသည်။

ငင်းတို့အနက်၊ တတိယပိုဒ်တွင်၊ (မယ်ကပေးတဲ့ပိုးသေးမပါ။ ခေါင်းပေါင်းပြာကိုလည်မှာရစ်လို့) ဟုပါရှိသဖြင့်၊ အလောင်းမင်းတရားကြီးတို့ခေတ်ထက်ပင် ရှေးကျကြောင်း သိရလေသည်။ အလောင်းမင်းတရားကြီးတို့ခေတ်၌ကား၊ ဗုဒ္ဓန်ထုတ် ခေါင်းပေါင်းဖြူကိုပေါင်းသောခေတ် ဖြစ်လေသည်။ ဤသို့ထောက်ထားရန်တချက်။ ။

စတုတ္ထပိုဒ်တွင်၊ (သံလွင်ငယ်မှမက၊ မုတ္တမနှင့် ဒလတသွယ်။ ထားဝယ်တခြာ။ ယိုဒယားတသိုက်။ ကမန်ပိုက်ကို။ တိုက်သောခါမူ၊ ထားကိုသို့ကိုက်၊ လှံကိုသို့နှုတ်။ စစ်မြေပြင်မှာ။ ဝင်ကာခုတ်၍။ တရုပ်ကဲ့ရှမ်းပြေ။ ထွားထွားငယ်ကြေ။ အောင်လေပြီတဲ့။ ဆီမလူ့။ ပေဖူးစာနှင့်။ မှာလိုက်ကဲ့ရှင်။ ။အပျိုငယ်ကကျွမ်း။ လွမ်းတုံတင်လေး ဟူရာ၌။ တရုပ်ကဲ့ရှမ်းပြေ။ ထွားထွားငယ်ကြေ။ အောင်လေပြီတဲ့ ဟူသောစကားအရ၊ စဉ်းစားလျှင်၊ အလောင်းမင်းတရားကြီး တရုပ်ပြည်ကို မအောင်ဘူးချေ။ ငင်းတို့ကလာသောစစ်ကိုသာ တွန်းလှန်အောင်နိုင်ဘူးလေသည်။ ။

နော်ရထာမင်းစော လက်ထက်၌ကား၊ ကိုယ်တော်တိုင် ချီတက်အောင်နိုင်ဘူး၏။ သို့အတွက် အနော်ရထာမင်းစောလက်ထက် ရေးသည်ဟူသော စကားအတိုင်း ယူတ္တိရှိလေသည်။ သို့မဟုတ် မြေးတော် အလောင်းစည်သူမင်း လက်ထက်သော်လည်း ဖြစ်တန်ရာသည်။ ငင်းပြင် (ဆီမလူ့ ပေဖူးစာနှင့်၊ မှာလိုက်ကဲ့ရှင်။) ဟူသောစကားသည်လည်း၊ အလွန်ရှေးကျကြောင်း ထင်ရှားလှပေသည်။ ။

၎င်းပြင်၊ ပုဂံပြည်၊ ခဆပညာ (၅၆၀) သက္ကရာဇ်ကိန်းမမြို့၊ (၂၆၆) ခုနှစ်မင်းပြုသော၊ သေဉ်လည်ကြောင်မင်းလက်ထက်၊ ဝိဇ္ဇာဓိရ်သည်ဟု ယခုတိုင်ကျော်စောလျက်ရှိသော၊ အဇ-ဂေါဏ-ခေါ် ဘုန်းကြီး၊ ရှင်မထီးခေါ် ဘုန်းကြီးတို့ ရေးသားကြသော၊ ထွက်ရပ်ကျမ်းလင်္ကာ၊ ထိုဆရာတို့ ရေးသားသော အင်းသိုက်-စမသိုက်တို့မှစ၍၊ ငမုန်ကန်းရေးသားသောသိုက်စာများလည်း၊ လင်္ကာတို့တို့ပင်ဖြစ်ကြလေ၏။ ထိုမင်းလက်ထက်နှင့် စစ်ကိုင်း-နရပတိကြီး လက်ထက်ကာ၊ နှစ်ပေါင်း (၁၀၉၀) ကွာခြားလေသည်။

ထိုသို့ ကွာခြားသောကာလကပင်၊ ပျို့လင်္ကာတို့ ရှိကြသောကြောင့်၊ စစ်ကိုင်းမြို့၊ ထူပါရုံ-ဒါယကာ-နရပတိကြီး-လက်ထက်မှာမှ၊ ပျို့လင်္ကာအစ ဖြစ်သည်ဟုယူလျှင် သင့်လျော်မည် မဟုတ်ပေ။ အထက်တွင်ဘော်ပြသည့်အတိုင်း၊ သာမညဝိသေသအားဖြင့်၊ ခွဲခြား၍ယူမှသာလျှင် သင့်မြတ်ပါမည်။

ဝေါဟာရလိနက္ခဏီပနိကျမ်း၊ ဝိဇ္ဇကတ်သမိုင်းကျမ်း၊ မှန်နန်းရာဇဝင်တို့၌၊ စစ်ကိုင်း နရပတိကြီး လက်ထက်ဟူ၍သာ ဆိုပါသည်-ဟူငြားအံ့။ ၎င်းဆရာတို့ ရေးသားသောစကား၌၊ ကိုးကားပြဆိုလျက် ရှိသော၊ အချို့ကျမ်းစာများသည်၊ နရပတိကြီးမှ၊ အထက်ဖြစ်သောကာလက ရေးသားသော စာများကို ကိုးလျက်တွေ့ရ၍၊ အထက်ပါအတိုင်း၊ သာမညဝိသေသကျရည်ဟန်ရှိလေသည်။ ဤကဲ့သို့ပြဆိုခဲ့သော တကောင်းမြို့ကောင်းစားစဉ်က။ ကြိုးဟောင်းဘွဲ့ဟောင်း၊ ပုဂံပြည်ကောင်းစားစဉ်ကရေးသော၊ ပုပ္ဖ-နတ်တောင်ဘွဲ့။ ကန်တော်ဘွဲ့။ သရဖူနီဗျားလက်ထက်၊ ရှင်ဗုဒ္ဓဘောသရေးသော၊ မြေသတ်လင်္ကာ။ ၎င်းနောက်နှစ်ပေါင်း (၆၀၀) ကွာ၊ နရပတိစည်သူမင်းလက်ထက်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် (၅၃၆) ခုတွင်၊ အနန္တသူရိယအမတ် ရေးသောလင်္ကာ၊ မြင်စိုင်းရွှေနန်းရှင်လက်ထက်၊ ရှင်သဒ္ဓမ္မပါလ-မထေရ်ရေးသော မြေသတ်လင်္ကာ၊ ပင်းယမြို့ကောင်းစားစဉ်က ရေးသားသော၊ ရတု အမေးအဖြေ ၆ ပိုင်း၊ မင်းရာဇာရေးသော စစ်ချီရတု။ ၎င်းရေးဂိုဏ်းရှေး လင်္ကာကြီးများကို ထောက်၍၊ သက္ကရာဇ် (၈၀၀) မပြည့်မီကပင်၊ ပျို့လင်္ကာ ရေးနည်းများ ရှိကြောင်း အလွန်သိသာလှပေသည်။

(၁၂)-၎င်းပြင်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် (၆၆၀) တွင်၊ မြင်စိုင်းမြို့တည်လိုသော်၊ (အရိုင်းအမျိုး တောင်ကိုကိုး) ဟူသောတဘောင်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် (၆၇၁) ခု၊ ပင်းယသီဟသူ လက်ထက် (ထောင်းလည်း၊ လွင်လွင်ထောင်း၊ ရောင်းလည်း၊ လွင်လွင်ရောင်း၊ အရေးမသာ ဒက္ခိဏာသို့ပြောင်း ဟူသောပင်းယတဘောင်) တို့သည်လည်း၊ လင်္ကာစပ်ပင် ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

၎င်းပြင် သက္ကရာဇ် (၇၃၀) မင်းကြီးစွာစော်ကဲလက်ထက်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် (၇၅၉) ခုနှစ်၊ ၎င်းမင်းတကောင်းမြို့သို့ ဆန်တော်မူရာ၊ (သာစွလေ) ချီသောအဏ်ချင်း ၃ ပုဒ်နှင့်တကွ၊ အမျိုးမျိုးစံတင်၍ ရေးသားခဲ့သော၊ အထက်ဘော်ပြရာပါ စာများကို ထောက်ကာ၊ ရှေးကာလကပင် ပျို့လင်္ကာတို့ တည်ရှိကြောင်း ထင်ရှားလှပေသည်။ သို့ရာတွင် ပုဂံမြို့ ကောင်းစားစဉ်ကာလကမှ၊ ပျို့လင်္ကာရေးသားသူ ပညာရှိနည်းပါးဟန်ရှိလေသည်။ သို့မဟုတ် ရေးသားသူများပါသော်လည်း၊ တိုင်းပျက်ပြည်ပျက်၊ စစ်မက်အရေးတို့ကြောင့်၊ ရှေးစာများ တိမ်ကောကြဟန် ရှိလေသည်။ အထူးမှားကား၊ အနော်ရထာမင်းစောမှစ၍၊ ပညာရှိကြီးတို့သည် အများပေါ်ထွန်းခဲ့သောကြောင့်၊ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ဆိုလိုသည်မှာ၊ သက္ကရာဇ် (၈၀၀) က အထက်၊ ရှေးရှေးသော မင်းတို့လက်ထက်က၊ ပညာရှိပျိုလ်တို့သည် ပဋိဘာသာ သဒ္ဓါ-ဗျာကရိုဏ်းကျမ်းများနှင့်၊ အဋ္ဌကထာ ဋီကာများကို ပြုစုသူများပေသည်။ ပျို့လင်္ကာမှာ၊ အနည်းမျှသာ ရှိပေလိမ့်မည်။ သက္ကရာဇ် (၈၀၀) ကျော်ကာလတွင်မူကား၊ ရှင်မဟာသီလဝံသ၊ ရှင်မဟာရဋ္ဌသာရ၊ ရှင်အဂ္ဂသမာဓိတို့ကဲ့သို့ (၅၅၀) နိပါတ်တော်၊ ဗုဒ္ဓဝင်စသော ခမ်းနားသော ဇာတ်နိပါတ်ကြီးများကို၊ ပျို့လင်္ကာဖြင့်ရေးသား ခဲ့ဆိုကြသောကြောင့်၊ ဝိသေသပျို့လင်္ကာကျမ်းများ ပေါ်ပေါက်လာကြလေသည်။

ယင်းသို့ဖြစ်ရာ၊ ထိုပျို့လင်္ကာများ၏ အဋ္ဌပြုတ်စာလည်း၊ ဇာတ်နိပါတ်ဗုဒ္ဓဝင်များဖြစ်၍၊ နေလကဲ့သို့ ထင်ရှားပေသည်။ ၎င်းအတိုင်း ရေးသားစပ်ဆိုတော်မူကြသော ပျိုလ်တို့၏ အမည်သည်လည်း၊ နေလအတူ၊ တိမ်မြဲမစွန်း၊ ထွန်းလင်းထင်ပေါ်လျက် ရှိလေသေး၊ ထိုသို့ ပညာရှိတို့ဆွဲ၊ ခေတ်ကာလအဖြစ် အပျက် ခြားနားပြောင်းလဲပုံတို့ကိုထောက်၍လည်း သိနိုင်ပါကြောင်း။

ဤကဲ့သို့ ခေတ်ကာလအသီးသီး လွဲပြောင်းလျက်၊ ရှေးသူဟောင်းပညာရှိတို့ပင်-ပါဠိကို အားပြုခြင်း၊ ပဋိအဋ္ဌကထာနှင့်တကွ၊ ပျို့လင်္ကာကို အားပြုခြင်းဟူ၍၊ သက္ကရာဇ် (၈၀၀) ကျော်လောက်က၊ အ

ယူ၍ မျိုးရှိကြလေ၏။ ထိုအယူ၍ မျိုးသည့် ကောင်းမြတ်သည်ချည်းပင် ဖြစ်သော်လည်း။ ပါဠိဘာသာ ကျမ်းဂန်ကိုပြသောအရာမှာ ပါဠိတတ်သူတို့သာ အကျိုးများ၏။ ပါဠိမတတ်သော မြန်မာသက်သက်မှာ၊ အကျိုးနည်းပါးချေမည်။ ။ ပါဠိအဋ္ဌကထာအရနှင့် ဘွဲ့ဆိုထားသော ပျို့ကံ ဖြစ်ပေမူကား။ ကျမ်းဂန် ပါဠိ တတ်သိလိမ္မာသူမှာလည်း အကျိုးရှိ၏။ ကျန်းဂန် ဒေသနာ မတတ်ပါသော မြန်မာ သက်သက်တို့ လည်း ဆက်လက်ခံစားရ၏။ သင်ကြားလေ့ကျက်ရာ၌လည်း၊ မိမိတို့ ဘာသာ လင်္ကာ စကားဖြစ်၍၊ မှတ် သားသင်ယူရန်လွယ်ကူပေ၏။

ကမ္ဘာပေါ်ရှိ လူအမျိုးမျိုးတို့၏ တံတွာ။ ဓမ္မတာ အလေ့အထ မှာလည်း။ မိမိတို့ ဘာသာစကား အားလျော်စွာ၊ ပျို့ကဗျာနှင့် လင်္ကာ သီချင်းများ ရှိကြလေသည်ချည်း ဖြစ်သည်။ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ကဲ့သို့၊ ထီးနန်း တိုင်းပြည်နှင့်နေကြကားသူ လူများကိုထားဘိ၍။ စာမျှမတတ်သော မိလက္ခာအရိုင်းအစိုင်းဖြစ်သူ။ ချင်း ကရင် ကပ္ပလိစသောလူရိုင်းတို့၌သော်လည်း။ မိမိတို့ဘာသာစကားလျော်စွာ။ တောင်ရိုးအေး-တောင်ရိုးသြ-ဟူ သော လင်္ကာတို့ ကဗျာသီချင်းများ ရှိတုံသေး၏။ ဤကဲ့သို့ဖြစ်သောကြောင့်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် (၈၀၄) ခုနှစ်၊ န ရပတိကြီးလက်ထက်မှ အစပြု၍၊ မြန်မာ ပျို့လင်္ကာတို့ ဖြစ်လာသည်ဟူသော စကားကို၊ အထက်ပါ သာဓကများနှင့် ထောက်သော်၊ သာမညကဗျာ၊ ဝိသေသကဗျာ ဟူ၍သာ ယူထိုက်ပါသည်။ ထိုသို့မယူဘဲရှိပါ မူ။ သဘာဝလေ့ကိုလွန်သဖြင့်၊ ဝိရောဓိဒေါသကို သက်ရောက်ပါကြောင်း။ မြန်မာ စာစီ စာကုံး ပညာဆို ရာမှာလည်း။ ဆိုခဲ့ပြီးသော အချက်များနှင့် ကိုးကားတော်ပြုခဲ့သော စာကိုယ် အထောက်အထားများ အ တိုင်း လေ့လာကြပါက။ ဥာဏ်လုံ့လအလျောက်။ မုချကန် တတ်မြောက်ကြမည်မှန်ပါကြောင်း။

ဆရာပွဲ။

[(1) There are three styles of composition: (a) Plain language, (b) Polished language, (c) and Poetical language. Plain language is used in ordinary writing, whether the subject is a chosen one, a Buddhist Life-story, a tale or a fable. Notable examples are old historical writings, folk-stories, medical, Vedic writings, paraphrases of the Buddhist scriptures, *Maṇikunḍala vatthu*, *Dhammapada vatthu*, *Saṃvega vatthudīpanī*, *Maṅgalatthadīpanī* and such other writings of the ancients. A correct construction of the grammatical parts of speech, so as to be free from the various faults of composition mainly constitutes plain language.

(2) Polished language is plain language or any other ordinary writing, polished according to the rules of composition by means of various literary devices. It is a higher form of composition than plain language. Examples are the unversified Inscriptions, various decisions such as those of Mahosadha, Pyumin &c., the ten Great *Zats*, *Jinathapākāsānī*, *Narasāsana*, *Rājovāda*, the introductory language of Burmese books, *Monywe Mettaza*, and *Kandawmingyaung mettaza*.

(3) Poetical language is either written in three or four syllables. The four-syllabled composition generally is meant. It is the highest form of composition obeying the six *athats* and the six modes of composition, avoiding, so as to gain smoothness and sweetness of sound, the 8 faults of words, 9 faults of sentences, 6 faults of the signification of sentences, and possessing merits of taste and essence. Not only is it written in accordance with rules of grammar and prosody but it is modelled on the usages of renowned masters. Notable examples are: *Yakhaing Minthami Egyin*, *Pāramīdaw-ganpyo*, *Catudhammasārapyo*, *Indaw mawgun*, *Shwenanti mawgun*, and

hundreds of other Pyo's, linkā's, ratu's, Egyin's. Plain language may be mixed with polished language but not with poetical language. Polished language may be mixed with but not inserted in poetical language; poetical language, however, may be inserted in polished language. Poetry is called in Burmese linkā, kabyā, gīta, classified as Yodayah, Ai, Te-tap, Dwegyo, Trigyo, Legyo, Khun-htauk, Pyo, Mawgun, Lutah, An, Egyin, Ratu, Yaitin, &c.

(4) A good evidence of plain language is the Buddhist formula: Okāsa, Okāsa, Kāyakarī, Vacīkarī, Manokarī, &c., of unknown authorship. The mixing of plain and polished language is well-known.

(5) This paragraph in the Burmese article gives examples of the mixed polished and poetical language. The inserted poetical passages are underlined and the quotations from inscriptions are in brackets. Such language is the best form of polished language. Further examples follow. The composition of such "great polished language" is almost as difficult as that of pure poetry. It cannot be attained without poetical skill.

(6) The 6 *athats* or final consonants are *Paramat*, *lahu*, &c. *Light athats* are ဝ် (including ဝ်, ဝ်, ဝ်) and န်. Heavy *athats* are ဟ်, ဝ် and န်. The six modes of poetical composition are 1. *Thon-gyet nyee*, where the fourth syllable of the first foot corresponds in sound to the third syllable of the third foot, as, သိန်းတောင်ဝိုင်း၊ လမ်းနှစ်ဆိုင်က။ သံအိုင်ရိုက်ထိန်—*Paleiksa-Egyin*. 2. *Oo-taik*, where the fourth syllable of the first foot, corresponds in sound to the first syllable of the second foot, as, ပတ္တမြားကုလိန်၊ အိုင်သဌာန—*Lokavidu*. 3. *Belooyai*, where the fourth syllable of the first foot corresponds in sound to either the second or third syllable of the second foot, as, ဇေယျသပြေ၊ ပဒေသာဝင်—*Bhūridat Lañkā*. 4. *Hteikkyin-khawut*, where the rhyming word of the first or the second foot has a heavy *athat* and that of the third a light one, as, ရွှေအိမ်တင့်အပ်၊ ရွှေဘုံထပ်သို့၊ ရံပတ်ရွှေခြယ်—*Bonkhanpyo*. 5. *Hteik-Kyin-khat*, the reverse of 4, as, ဤစာကိုခန်း၊ ပုလဲပန်းဖြင့်၊ မိတ်ကြမ်းမာန်လျော့—*Kogan*. 6. *Cheingwinshā*, where the rhyming words of the first and third feet have one kind of *athat* and that of the middle foot a different kind, as, မည်တွင်မတ်၊ ကုက္ကိုထိန်ဟု၊ ချစ်ခြင်းသာယာ—*Bhūridat-Zat-poung*.

(7) Of the polished and poetical language, which is the earlier? Common verse must precede plain language as chanted verse existed before the discovery of letters, as အမယ်ကြီးနှင့်—ဘကြီးမိတ်တော့, &c. And short poetical sayings, which even children have the inspiration to make, should precede polished language, which as its name indicates requires special attainments. Witness short snatches of songs by the savages. The order therefore should be (a) common short verse, (b) plain language, (c) distinctive poetry and polished language.

(8) Verse must have originated at the beginning of the Burmese nation. Think of the existence of ancient songs in the prosperous days of Tagaung town, of verse in praise of Poppa-nattaung and of Thaiksa's and linkas in the time of King Thele-kyaung of Pagan, and of Myakantaw linkas in the time of King Kyaswa. No inscription has been found giving the date of the origin of Burmese poetry. That of course does not militate

against it. Just as, when it is the fashion now to put up signboards in front of houses, the absence of a signboard would not imply the absence of the inmate of the house; so it is with inscriptions. Hence although inscriptional evidence has not been forthcoming, there was literature—*Pyo*, linkā in the days before King Anawrahta. There are extant three ancient Royal boat songs, one in honour of the motion of the royal barge, another in honour of pulling it, a third in honour of stopping it. See the Burmese (၀) ခါးပု for the songs. From such expressions as လောကလောင်းမင်းထွန်းချာ—“King Alaung the chief of the world” and မုရောင် စီးလာဝင်၊ မြို့ပြည့်လွန်းလှမ်း၊ ဘောင်းနင်းစင်ကြလေ စီးကြမ်းပေါင်း “The Mu waters have flowed in full to the brim. All ye kings ride the royal barge,” it is plain that the Royal family were in the habit of enjoying themselves in barges. Moreover the first expression seems to refer to Alaung raja son of Vararaja, 22nd among the 50 generations of Kings who reigned at Tagaung. The 12th in descent from him was Dhajaraja the Sakiyan, who fled from Kapilavatthu on its destruction by Viṭaṭṭu, gave the name of Pañcāla to Tagaung and reigned under the name of Jambudīpadhajaraja. Considering these statements that come in the Chronicles, Alaung Raja must have reigned before the Buddha appeared. Moriyaraja the founder of Kale Rājagaha and Bhinnakaraja who fled from the Tarops and Tareks were contemporaries of the Buddha. At such a remote time, therefore, the art of writing poetry must have been known as these poetical specimens possess great merits.

(9) See the Burmese (၉)—ခါးပု for the four verses on Poppā nattaung said to have been produced in the reign of King Thele-kyaung of Pagan. There is extant also the Manudhammathat linkā composed by Shin Buddhaghosa in the reign of King Thāramunphyā who became King in 416 saka Era. This King preceded King Narapatigyi by 948 years. Hence the saying that Burmese poetry began in Narapatigyi's time is wrong.

(10)—In 536 B. E. in the reign of Narapatisithu of Pagan, Minister Anantathuriya, son of the attendant of Minyinnaratheinkha, elder brother of the King was captured and made over to the executioners. Just before his execution he wrote four verses for the king. See (၁၀)—ခါးပု in the Burmese. They were presented too late to the King, who, however rebuked the executioners for their fault. This is evidence of the existence of refined poetry—refined enough to appease the savage heart of Narapatisithu—in the later Pagan Kings. These four verses are said to be the first specimens of the four syllabled *Pyo*.

(11) There are also the Dhammathat linkā's by Shin Dhammapāla in the reign of the king of Myinsaing. Moreover in the reign of King Thihathu who became King in Pinya in 714 B. E. the minister Sirimahacaturangabala, a native of Prome sent three verses of questions [see (၁၁)–(၁၂) (၁) (၀) in the Burmese] to Pokkam sayadaw residing near the Shwezigon pagoda at Pagan. The Sayadaw sent back three verses in answer [see (၁၁) (၁) (၀)] Then there are the six verses of friendship and love of unknown date and authorship beginning with ချစ်တဲ့သူငယ်လေး၊ သူငယ်ချင်း ကောင်း ချောင်းမ တို့ လေး Some assign them to Alaungpaya's reign, others to Anawrahta's reign. The first verse gives a message of longing to a beloved friend. The second verse tells how one suffers sorrow on account of one's sweetheart opposed by parents.

The third verse laments the separation from one's first husband owing to parental opposition. The fourth verse is a letter to a beloved friend who has gone forth to battle. The fifth verse expresses a wish to go to Mye-htoo bazaar with a beloved friend in a light cart. The sixth verse expresses longing for a beloved friend who has turned monk. Mention is made in the third verse of blue silk turbans (ခေါင်းခေါင်းပြာကိုလည်မှာရင်လို့) which were worn before Alaungpaya's time, when white turbans of the lobster style were in fashion. The fourth verse relates the conquest of the Chinese country (တရုတ်ကိုရှင်းပြေ၊ ထွားထွားထွားထွား၊ အောင်လေပြီတဲ့) Now Alaungpaya never conquered the Chinese; he only repulsed the Chinese forces sent against him. But Anorata had himself marched out and defeated the Chinese. Hence the verses should be assigned to the reign of either Anawrahta or Alaungsithu. Moreover the expression ဆီမလူး၊ လေဖူးစာနှင့်၊ မှာလိုက်ကဲ့ ရှင့် "the message is sent by palmyra leaf not rubbed with oil" is ancient. Then there are the various kinds of Thaiksa (secret writings about treasure) in the form of verse written by famous astrologers such as Ajagona, Shinpahtee in the reign of King Thinle-kyaung who became king in 266 saka era. There is a difference of 1098 years between this and Narapatigyi's time. To say therefore that poetry originated in the latter period is not right. It would be more fitting to say that poetry developed, especially as some of the treatises quoted by *Vohāralīnatthadīpanī kyan*, *Piṭaka Thamaing* and *Hmannan Yazawin* belong to a period prior to Narapatigyi's reign. All the poetical writings referred to above are earlier than 800 B. E.

(12)—Moreover the prophetic saying referring to the founding of Myin-saing town in 660 B. E. and the Pinya prophetic saying of 671 B. E. in Thihathu's reign [see (၁၂) for the Burmese] are also in verse. The three verses beginning with သာဓုလေ in honour of King Swasawkai's journey to Tagaung is dated 759 B. E. Prior to 800 B. E. scholars must have paid more attention to the Pali language than to the Burmese or else their Burmese works must have perished in the frequent wars waging at those times, leaving us only those pieces noticed above. It was only in 800 B. E. that Shin Mahasilavamsa, Shin Ratthasara, Shin Aggasamadhi added to the stock of Burmese literature by writing pyos on the Buddhist Birth Stories and other Pali sources and put Burmese literature on a level with Pali. Since then literary pursuits in Burma have assumed a two-fold nature: pure Pali or Pyo based on Pali studies. While pure Pali scholarship is of benefit only to the learned, acquainted with the Pali, the Pyo writings appeal to both Pali and Burmese students and are more advantageous. In conclusion we must give up the belief that literature began in 804 B. E. in Narapatigyi's reign. Among savage tribes as the Chins and Kachins snatches of songs are to be found. How could the Burmans who had led a civilized life under their own sovereigns have waited till 800 B. E. for the poetical expression of their thoughts?]

NOTE:—Perhaps one would like to learn more of Burmese literature and history before giving full consent to the evidence brought forward by Saya Pwa. But there should now be no reason to doubt the existence of Burmese literature before the eleventh century.* We should be able to prove that even

* See Taw Sein Ko's *Burmese Sketches*, p. 25.

if we could not at the same time be so sure of the nature of the script used. It would be premature to decide the latter point now. The point in question, after all, is the existence of literature.

We give the following allusions to letters in the *Glass Palace Chronicle*: In § 105 on King Dwattabaung (443-373 B. C.) we are told that the king demanded tribute from his vassal Kings by sending them *written letters* attached to his flying lance and that he made a code of law beginning with the stanza, *apāyagatim upāyañ*. In § 106 we read that King Thiririt (120-111 B. C.) made *history* and the *vedanga*. It is well-known that new eras were introduced in 78 A. D. by King Thumondari and in 638 by Poppa Sawrahan. Again we are told in § 113 that the Ari monks, before Anawrahta's time, misled the people by inserting *manuscripts* in the barks of a *thatkut* tree and had then revealed through interpreters so that the king and the people misbelieved.

One may smile at the absurdity of Burmese history when one reads that King Dwattabaung was carried away in his royal boat by the Nagas or dragons and suspects that he may be thinking of returning to his kingdom of Prome attended by his heroic ministers and invincible by his engines of pomp and power. But it may not be so easy to discover that the expression "to be carried away by nagas" is only a Burmese euphuism for "to be drowned at sea." In the same way, we may be amused by the obvious exaggeration of the historical extracts given above: but we should also try to discover the substratum of fact which underlies them. Moreover we should remember that they are extracts from a historical work and that any exaggeration they may be accused of from the point of view of history does not tell against their value as evidence for literature. The authors were not writing a history of literature.

Editor.

‘ANATTA’: THE DOCTRINE OF “NO EGO.”

This is undoubtedly the central point of the Buddhist Philosophy: this is the point upon which the Buddha most insisted, and which separates his system of thought from all previous philosophies: “Anatta!” “No ego!” “No soul!” To the average Christian this amounts to a denial of ethical purpose—of all that makes life worth while, here where we are at school. To the western philosopher it smacks of Hume’s blunder when he thought he could explain away the ego by an (inexplicable) attraction between presentations. It may be that the Buddhist doctrine has nothing in common either with the former heresy or with the latter fallacy.

The Atta or ego whose existence the Buddha denies is not a mere name for a particular ever-changing conscious complex, an evolving individual ‘being’ (in that sense, as we shall see, he himself used the expressions ‘I’ and ‘you’ and ‘he’); but the terms stand for something permanent and self-existent. An evolving mentality is undeniable: it is experience itself. But a discrete entity is an idea abstracted from experience. Is it an idea—however abstracted from its concomitants—of anything that really exists? At any rate it is an idea very generally held—and without question.

What is the popular, the most common view about the soul or person? Is it not that the self or ego is a spiritual reality a ‘something in itself’ dwelling in, acting on and acted upon by a body? Surely this opinion is almost universal. None doubt that it is the very same self which takes possession of the body at birth and is, so to say, ejected from it at death. It is true however that some limit the permanence of this self to a single life-time. They would say that the birth of the body made the self and the body’s death destroyed it. Those who hold their ‘be-all and end-all’ to be here, virtually maintain the creed that the self is part and parcel of the body. But *all* of us in many actions of our daily life *implicitly* identify ourselves with our bodies; as is partly evident from such statements as ‘I fell down,’ ‘I hurt myself.’ Then again we separate ourselves from a part of our bodies when we say ‘My leg hurts me,’ ‘My arms are stronger than yours,’ and assume the part of a possessor. In both cases we are dealing with habitual perceptions—with the ‘bodily-self’—but not with our own abstract theories about our ‘self.’ However it is with the view of our self by which we regulate our conduct and in which we pass most of our time that religion is chiefly concerned. When we turn to the theories which we hold about our self or soul (and upon which we do occasionally act) I think we shall find that most people believe their soul to be a spiritual entity sufficiently distinct from the body for it to exist after the latter’s decay, and they look forward to a purely spiritual soul-existence after death. In the language of the Buddha, they hold, “There is the world. There is the self. In a future state I shall be permanent, stable, untouched by change, existing on and on, ever the same.” And as this is the statement most generally quoted in connection with the soul-heresies, we suppose that it was the view most widely spread amongst the people of India when the Buddha set up his norm—his new standard of good—in the sixth century B. C.

Soul
Theories of
Ancient
India.

Indeed we know the Jains and Sankhyas held almost exactly this view: 'There is Prakriti: there are the Purushas'—'which pass through the drama of life; but do not lose their essential and eternal nature.' The Vedantists held the world to be an illusion, but clung to the one and only eternal and changeless soul, existing in itself, ever and ever the same, despite the illusion of 'jīva's' or 'souls many.' Weaker sages who had not attained to Brahman-Atman or Nirva-kalpa Samadhi, but whose spiritual attainments ended in visions of Devas or glorified mortals, believed in an 'astral' self, very much like the corporal being, but 'made up of mind' and departing this body at death. Lastly there were materialists, the so called Brihaspati school, who scoffed at vision or 'attainment' and held that soul and body came to much the same thing.

All 'Soul-
theories.'

The Buddha characterised all soul-theories as 'This am I,' 'This is mine:' the belief in a separate self-existent permanent entity or ego; the claim of a something sensed, perceived, cognised, or consciously attained as pertaining to that ego, related to it, belonging to it. Now there is one fact upon which all philosophies seem to be agreed, the fact of existence. (1) The question here raised is 'What exists?' Can there be an identity, an entity, a permanent ego *who* exists? If there are any grounds for the common belief in such an ego, they must be found in existence itself. And what do we find in existence? Well, various objects, bodies and so forth, divers feelings, sense-perceptions and thoughts, dispositions, and so on..... in short such and such consciousnesses.

'This am I'
Theory.

Therefore the Buddha holds that he who claims the existence of an ego, must maintain that this ego is the body, or this ego is a certain collection of feelings, perceptions, dispositions—or in short such and such a consciousness. But when we examine all this in the light of experience we find only flux and dependence, and so the belief that there is here to be found a permanent entity, an ego, or soul is 'utterly and entirely a foolish idea.'

To him who affirms 'my soul is body' he goes on to explain, answer should be made thus. 'My friend, bodies are of many kinds, there are infantile bodies, young bodies, mature bodies, old bodies, dead and decayed bodies. So if, now that you are mature, you affirm 'my ego is this mature body,' then when your body has aged you must admit 'my ego has departed.' 'But indeed the body is not identical for two consecutive instants and its condition at any moment is entirely dependent upon innumerable conditions, external and internal, past and present, wherefore it can afford you no ground for your belief in a permanent and independent entity or ego.'

Still less can feelings, perceptions, dispositions, consciousness be said to constitute an ego, for is it not clear to everyone that what is called mind undergoes incessant transformation, night and day, for ever 'passing away' and 'coming to be'—perishing as one thing and springing up as another? There are feelings, pleasant and unpleasant, perceptions, visual, auditory, etc. thoughts, right and wrong, dispositions, active or passive, good and evil,

(1) Descartes thought he had scraped the board bare with his 'Cogito ergo sum.' But in making 'I exist' his standing-ground, he started with a great deal too much. This axiom upon which he bases his propositions is itself a very advanced and complex proposition: the only thing which is axiomatic is an 'existing.'

states of consciousness of all sorts, and these succeed each other, continually rapidly, endlessly and without repetition. So to him who affirms, for example, 'This my present state of mind, character or consciousness is my ego,' answer should be made: 'Friend, only in dependence upon certain antecedent conditions and objects now present to your thought are you thus minded, under new conditions with different objects of contemplation your mind will not be the same, in which case you would have to admit, "my ego has departed." Hence the view that in the mind is to be found a permanent entity or ego does not commend itself.

'This is mine' Theory.

This view is now presumed to be abandoned: the 'This am I' contention collapses, and the 'soul-theorist,' the 'I-believer,' falls back on the 'This is mine' view:—"I am not body, feelings perceptions, dispositions or consciousness, but I *have* a body, I *have* feelings, perceptions, dispositions, and consciousness—or at least my ego has a *faculty* of feeling, perceiving thinking and being conscious." Now this amounts to saying that I myself, the ego is one thing; and that both the body and whatever there may be of feeling, perceptions, dispositions and consciousness is another thing.

The 'I am I' Theory.

The 'I believer' therefore finds that he has committed himself to the 'I am I' position: "the ego is a real and ultimate reality quite distinct from mind or body." To this, reply should be made: "My friend suppose you were to give away this body, which you say you possess, suppose you were to get quite rid of this faculty of yours, feeling, perceiving, thinking and so forth, there being then absolutely no consciousness at all of any sort or kind whatever, (1) could you then say: "I am?"

It seems clear that you could not. (2) But the convinced believer in a soul, out-argued though he be, may well attempt to turn the tables on his questioner and ask him: 'If there are then, as you aver, no such things as 'I myself,' 'you,' 'he' and so on, how is it that such persons are universally held to exist? And how is it that you yourself make use of these terms in the very statements by which you claim to prove that there are no such things!"

Self as a convenient designation.

The answer is that there are 'consciousnesses' readily distinguishable from one another and in that sense individual, particular, but that these consciousnesses are not entities but fluxes and afford no grounds whatever for the assumption of a permanent ego or soul which either is consciousness, or has consciousness, or is something altogether apart from consciousness;—in fact no ground whatever for that which people have in mind when they say: 'I,' 'you,' 'he' etc. 'this person and that.'

In the well-known incident in the Questions of King Milinda, the King, (3) upon his introduction to the renowned Buddhist monk, is represented as asking: "What Sir, is your name?"

(1) And so too no sub-consciousness.

(2) It will be remembered however that the Vedantists claimed the existence of such a self,—the Atman. However the Buddha's teachers, Alara Kalama and Uddaka both had to confess that this self was not really apart from any object of consciousness. In one case the object was infinity and in the other nothingness or the idea of no distinction of this from that.

(3) Known to the Greeks as Menander.

"The brethren O King, call me Nagasena," comes the reply, "but this Nagasena, O King, is only a figure of common speech, a convenient designation—for no permanent entity exists which might answer to that term."

At this the King scoffs and begs to be informed "Who is it then who lives the hermit's life. Who comes begging for food, and who seeks Nirvana?"

Nagasena puts off the answer by asking the King how he came thither and hearing that he came in a chariot, he attempts to find out what this chariot is, asking "Are spokes the chariot? Are tires? or an axle-bar? Or is it the two shafts and the seat which are the chariot? Or are all these various and miscellaneous parts the chariot?"

"No, Sir, I did not say that" returned the King.

"Well then, O King, is there anything apart from all this which is the chariot?"

"Certainly not, Sir."

"Well then, O King,—this chariot which you talk of—it is a mere empty sound! Can it be a falsehood that your Majesty has spoken? For when asked to explain what the chariot was which you say you came in, you are not able to establish its existence! Is it possible your Majesty, to approve you in that?"

Then replied King Milinda "I have spoken no lie, reverend sir, the parts alone do not make the chariot, neither is the chariot anything without the parts: it is on account of there being a particular arrangement, a holding together in a certain manner of the parts already mentioned that there has come into common use—as a convenient figure of speech—the generally understood term of chariot."

In just the same way, the Buddhist sage explains it is on account of there being a certain organised grouping of bodily characteristics and functions, certain complexes of feeling, perceptions and thoughts and dispositions, or, in short, a particular consciousness-complex, that there has come into use as a convenient designation, the name 'Nagasena' but in truth "there is no entity, no fixed person, or permanent ego implicated with the name."

In other words while the name is fixed and does not change, what it designates is not the same for two consecutive instants. *The individual is not an entity but a 'process' not a 'being' in the absolute sense, but a 'becoming.'* 'Arising' and 'passing away,' in short 'becoming,' is the very essence of existence—of all that is actual. This is the fundamental proposition of Buddhism. It applies both to mind and to body: to the subjective as well as to the objective. That the objective or total presentation is always changing, all will admit. That the subjective is changing likewise, cannot be 'apparent' in any literal sense, for it cannot be presented (1). However it does not seem possible to doubt that the existence of a presentation is in being attended to: a presentation—or object—which is not noticed at all or attended to in the slightest degree is simply not presented. The

(1) The act of perceiving cannot be the thing perceived—the percept; neither can thinking be the thought etc.

existence of a sensation is in being felt, of a perception in being perceived and of a thought in being thought. If therefore there has been a change from a pleasurable to a painful sensation there must have been a subjective change from 'being pleased' to 'being pained' and if there has been a change from a percept to a thought, there must have been a subjective change from perceiving to thinking and so on. One must therefore admit that as the objective changes the subjective changes too. The endurance or continuance of the subjective is not denied by this; but it needs to be explained. What is denied is fixity, identity, anything in the nature of a changeless entity either in the subjective or the objective factor of experience.

Our intellect, however, attempts to transcend the bare experience—and so fools us. The process of abstraction posits behind the objective a thing-stuff: behind the changing presentation experienced a permanent substance which *appears* now long, now short, now hard, now soft, now green, now red; yet which is not itself any of those things but something different, an entity apart whose qualities those are. The very same process of intellection posits behind the subjective a spirit-stuff: behind the changing act of experiencing another unchanging entity *which* or *who* experiences; yet which is not itself the experiencing: it is neither the feeling nor the attending—but something different, an entity apart which causes feeling and attending. It appears however that the very same arguments which Berkeley used to dispose of the existence of a thing-stuff, apply with equal force to the corresponding spirit-stuff which he—like the Vedantists—believed to be beyond question. Indeed the Buddha's arguments are almost the same as Berkeley's, though turned in an opposite direction.

It is against this ego, this entity of spirit that the Buddhist argument is directed. Buddhism is not Presentationism: it does not deny the subjective: it defines consciousness as 'the *being conscious* of an objective' 'the uprisen-in-relation to an object' (1); but Buddhism does refuse to look outside of the process of being conscious for an explanation or cause of that process. How accurately the Buddhists were ever able to distinguish between the objective and what is truly subjective, is a difficult point to decide. But even though this distinction was never drawn with modern subtlety and precision: it is evident that the Buddha taught that experience is a flowing complex, changing in all its factors, and that he denounced every attempt to find an explanation of this complex by means of some entity outside of it.

For the purposes of exposition he favoured a division of experience into five groups, factors or complexes: it is probable that part, at any rate, of this classification was already in vogue before Buddha began to teach; but it was then an ego or *atta who had* this body, this feeling, this perception, this disposition and in short this consciousness. Now in Buddhism the *atta* is taboo; but the terms *Satta* (being) and *puggala* (person) are permissible: they are convenient designations for the groups of bodily qualities, feelings, perceptions, dispositions, and in short for the consciousness-complex which we call a man. In the words of Buddhaghosa, "I, you, self etc.

(1) See Compendium of Philosophy—Essay. S. Z. Aung.

are a mode of referring to the presence of the Five Attachment-groups, but when we come to examine phenomena and states of being, one by one we find that there is no entity there to form a basis for such figments as 'I am' and 'I': in fact we see that, strictly speaking, there is nothing but subjective-objective' (in a state of flux). The insight of him who actually intuits this—and who is therefore so trained as never for an instant to *think* 'I' or 'you' or 'thing'—is called 'Intuition of the Fact' (1). The Buddha himself made use of these *expressions* in common conversational use, but stated that in so doing, he was not led astray by them into forming the idea of an entity or 'thing-in-itself'; but to him the terms 'I' and 'you' referred to different conscious processes. In speaking of a past life the Buddha says: "At that time the 'sequence' (2)—'series'—or 'process'—which is now called Sakya-Sage was then called Sunetra."

But how are these series carried on? How do these processes evolve? The Buddha, we have seen, maintained that no entity, no substance, no ego existed to produce these processes; 'neither were they sprung from anything of that nature;' but he did not, nevertheless, deny a cause of becoming. He maintained that there was a *Universal Principle* in accordance with which all conscious processes or subjective-objective relations were carried on. This Principle is generally known as the Law of Karma: a law of cause and effect by which subjective and objective interact in the unity of consciousness.

The Buddhist religion then gives something for what it takes away; and it is not an inexplicable attraction between presentations which we are to have in exchange for our soul. A change of view-point is demanded and this change is to be made from self to Principle. Can it be such a heresy to deny one's self, when "self-denial" is the motive-power of every religion worthy of the name? In denying the self must we only go so far as to deny its claim to pleasure, and not its claim to exist? It would be more logical to assert the self, if we believe in it, to deny it, if we do not. I beg now to conclude my article with this question:—Which of the two men has the harder task to be unselfish: he who endeavours to repress the self which he firmly believes in, or he who has no self-belief to be troubled withal?

K. M. WARD.

(1) Or 'Eye for the Truth': it stands for the Buddhist conversion. The convert is Sotapan, Stream-winner.

(2) Pali, Santana.

SHIN UTTAMAGYAW AND HIS TAWLA, A NATURE POEM—VII.

This verse may be taken as a supplement to the last foregoing one. After a usual tribute to the noble descendent of the *Sakya* race, the great Chief of the sages, the all-wise Buddha, our poet again alludes to the months of *Nayôn*, *Wagaung* and *Tawthalin* (June, August and September). In the concluding lines he strikes the same note as regards the promulgation by Buddha of His religion among the various classes of mankind.

As already noted before, though wanting in orderly arrangement, this poem contains unequalled richness of description. It presents natural objects with such force that they become visible to the mind's eye. It is not lacking in religion and virtue. It may therefore be said that the genius of the poet consists chiefly in depicting nature as it is and associating it with divine thoughts and fine sentiments.

The first description given in the present verse is that of the usual scenery in the sky in *Nayôn* (June). The silvery moon shines at her zenith in the company of the so-called dragon-star on the night of the full-moon. The down-pour accompanied by loud peals of thunder following the darkening of the sky by rain-clouds on all sides is also described in a most impressive manner.

The poet here stops short leaving *Wazo* (July) unnoticed and he introduces abruptly the month of *Wagaung* (August). He first refers to the appearance of the moon with *Nakshatra Saravun* and the constellation called the pony at their zenith. He next makes an allusion to the *Khatta* flower which blooms in that season. He also mentions the swelling as well as the swift flow of rivers consequent on the heavy rain-fall which totally overpowers the brightness of the sun.

What follows next alludes to the month of *Tawthalin* (September). Here it is said that the rain-fall simply creates pleasant scenes along the sand-strewn river-banks. Occasional lightning-flashes accompanying peals of thunder illuminate the sky. In the river itself the emerald-green water is so calm that it is likened to a sheet of mat. An innumerable number of golden rafts and crafts are assembled on the waters.

In the flower-scented land-region, heavy bunches of *Yinma* flowers nod in the air; while in the sky above, the *Padaing* star together with the constellation egret sheds its lustre around the full-orbed moon at her highest altitude.

The verse concludes with a solemn scene in which Buddha attended by eight hundred thousand *Arahantas* is represented as going on a journey and preaching to an assembled crowd composing of *Asuras*, *Nagas*, *Sakra*, *Brahmas*, *Devas* and *Yakkhas* who have appeared to do honour to their illustrious Teacher. The beasts of the forest realm join the adoring crowd.

The opening lines beginning from မဟာသောက နိဗ္ဗာန် down to ဝိဇ္ဇာတိ refer to Buddha and simply mean that when one thinks of the glory, power and virtue of the noble Lord one finds them to be beyond praise.

The terms မဟာသက္က မုနိန္ဒ, သဒ္ဓိညံ and လူ့တူပရမေ are all epithets of Buddha.

The expression ရေစိုမီးပွင့် တန်ခိုးလွှင့်သား alludes to Buddha's power of displaying the double miracle which consists in sending forth a flame of fire from one eye, nostril or ear and a volume of water from the other. The Pāli term for this double miracle is *yamaka patihāriyam*.

ကဲမြင့်ရောင်ခြည် ဘဝင်လည်သား means 'The darting rays of light from Buddha's body reaches as far as the summit of the highest celestial region.' (Cf. ဘုံဘဝင် ဖျား in Verse II, and also လှံတောက်ရောင်ခြည် in Verse III).

သုံးမည်လူနတ် means "The three classes of mankind, that is men, nats and *Brahmas*."

ရုဏ်မြိတ means "Essence of virtue," or "virtue par excellence." (See notes on Verse II).

ယုန်ဘုံရဟတ်.....တည့်မွန်းချယ်၍ This passage refers to the month of *Nayôn* (June) for in that season the moon is always seen together with the *Nakshatra jetṭha*. Both are at their zenith on the full-moon night.

ယုန်ဘုံရဟတ် and စန်းငွေမြတ် are tautologous expressions. Both mean the moon.

နတ်နဝါးနွယ် is another name for the *Nakshatra Jetṭha*. It is so called because the five stars of which it consists are arranged like a dragon.

မိုးလယ်အာကာ။ နတ်ဝလာတို့.....မြတ်သီဝါပြန်။ စောင်း၍သွန်သို့။ These lines refer to the gloomy aspect of the sky all round and the subsequent down-pour accompanied by loud peals of thunder.

ဗိုဗိုဗို in ဗိုဗိုဗိုဗိုလက် and ဂြဲးဗိုဗို in သံဝံဂြဲးဗိုဗို are onomatopoeic terms. The expression ဂြဲးဗိုဗိုဗို implies a concert of loud protracted sounds.

နတ်ဝလာတို့၊ ရောသံလှိုင်။ The various sounds mentioned here are said to be the sound of the rain-gods' trumpets. The expression is made to convey that sense. သင်တိုင်း in သင်တိုင်းရစ်ခြံ means "A close fitting frock with short sleeves." ရစ်ခြံ and ရံ both mean "To wrap round or overspread as with a piece of cloth." The expression သင်တိုင်းရစ်ခြံ၊ ညိုလုံရုံသည် therefore means "Wrapped or enveloped in gloom." (Cf. လွှမ်းခြံသင်တိုင်း in Verse II.)

The portion from တိန်အတိဝေ down to စောင်း၍သွန်သို့ means, nothing but wreath upon wreath of rain-cloud are seen. They cause so heavy a rainfall as to make one imagine that the celestial river *Mandākinī* has been overturned and emptied of its waters. မန္တာကီ stands for မန္တာကီကီ a name of the only river in heaven. It is also called *Akāsagangā*. နတ်နဒီ means "A celestial river" and refers to the same *Mandākinī*. နဒီ is a Pāli word for a river. မြတ်သီဝါပြန် also means "A river" or more literally "A pipe-like river."

သရာဏ်ဝယ်၊ ဗိနန္ဒာစင်သွား.....ချိန်မပြန်မီ၊ တည့်မွန်းညီ၍ This passage gives a graphic description of the characteristic phenomena in the sky on the night of the full-moon in *Wagaung* (August), and means "The moon, the *Nakhsatra Saravun* and the constellation known as the pony are all at their zenith at the same moment."

ဗိနန္ဒာစင်သွား၊ ဝိဝေဓမြားနှင့် refers to the *Nakshatra Saravun* which consists of three stars standing in a row just like an arrow. Hence the expression ဗိနန္ဒာစင်သွား signifies an arrow. ချိန်မပြန်မီ၊ တည့်မွန်းညီ၍ means "To be at the highest altitude or zenith at the same time or hour." ပြန် and (မီ) which stands for မီနော are measures of time, a *pyan* being one-tenth part of a *Kaya*, and six *pyans*

being equal to one *bizana*. A *bizana* is one-fifteenth part of a *pat* and four *pats* are equal to one *nari* or a Burmese hour.

ကတ္တရီဝါ။ ငွေတ္တာမျှ.....လည်ရှက်မြဲနောင်။ The literal meaning of this passage is that the silvery *Khatta* with its scissor-like leaves gives out a grateful odour from the sphere of *Thein* (Leo.) with which it is always associated. ကတ္တရီ (Pāli) means "A pair of scissors." ငွေတာ is a kind of land lily. It appears that the *Khatta* plant is also called *Kattari va* or the imitation scissors from the shape of the leaves which are like scissor-blades.

ရေယဉ်တောင်.....ကြက်လှိုင်းချန်၍။ The allusion is to the flood in *Wagaung* which causes all the sand-banks to disappear to the swift flow of the ruffled waters which bring down all sorts of drifts.

ဒိုက်သရေ is made up of ဒိုက် a drift, and သရေ (Pāli) flowing. ဒိုက်သရေ therefore means "A floating heap of heterogeneous matter."

ကြက်လှိုင်းချန်၍ means "To be ruffled." (Cf. လှိုင်းကြက်ခွက်ထဲ).

ကပ်ပြာပြာ၊ ဝေဟာသံဝယ်.....မိုးစစ်သေနင်၊ ဗျူဟာဆင်၍။ The poet here says that the clouds wear the harmonious tints of the rain-bow and the rain stands in battle-array against the bright sun which is in the sign *Thein* (Leo). Varied sights are consequently seen in the sky.

ဝေဟာသ (Pāli) means "The air, sky, heaven."

သီဟသေလာ။ ရွှေရသကာ။ Literally this means "The lion from its pleasant golden cave in the mountain." Hence Leo, the fifth sign of the zodiac is meant. သေလာ (Pāli) means "A rock, hill or mountain."

တော (Pāli) means "Brilliancy," and ဓက်ရိန် means "The sun." Hence တောဇာယိန်ထိန်၊ ဓက်ရိန် simply means "The bright sun." ကြိုးထစ် means "To endeavour to hit." တန်ဖိုးလွန်၍ means "To overpower."

မိုးစစ်သေနင်၊ ဗျူဟာဆင်၍ means "The army of the rain in battle-array." သေနင် is from the Pāli သေနင် (a Sandhi compound of သေနာ and အင်) meaning "The requisites of an army." The last passage beginning from သီဟသေလာ down to ဗျူဟာဆင်၍ is figurative. It is a metaphor relating to a battle between the bright sun and the rain.

သဘင်မြို့ခေါ်၊ သည်ချိန်မှာဝယ်.....အောင်စည်ဗုဒ္ဓ၊ ကွန်ရွှန်းသွန်သာ။ These and the following lines down to သင်းထုံသရော်၊ နွေရည်သစ်လိပ်၊ refer to the sign *Kan* (Virgo) or its corresponding month *Tawthalin* (September). The passage just quoted means that the jocund rain in a mood to attend the state *levee* comes down in a torrent as if he intends to create delightful scenes on sandy shoals and river banks. Lightning-flashes, accompanied by the beat of the crab-drum, light up the sky over *Yugan's* height. There is a bland of various colours of excessive brightness.

သည်ချိန်မှာဝယ် means "At this time or in this season," that is *Tawthalin* (September).

ဂေါကယဇ္ဇံ။ Literally this means "The bullock-river *Jamna*," but here an ordinary river is meant. This river is so called because it rises from one of the seven great lakes in the *Himavamtā* region called the *Anavatatta* and runs through one of its four out-lets or openings. The outlet referred to is the Southern one which is called *Gona-mukha* or the bull's mouth. The place around this outlet is said to abound in a great number of bullocks. Hence that name.

ယုဂန္ဒါးလတ်။ လောကဓိတ်တွင် means "The sky as high as mount *Yugandra* in the system of the universe."

ကြိတ်လျှင် in ကြိတ်လျှင်ပြီးပြောင်း means "Lightning."

မျက်ကိုးရောင် means "The colour of the nine kinds of gems."

အောင်စည်ဗွန်း။ The crab-drum is also called အောင်စည် (the victory drum) because *Sakra* obtained it from the hands of the *Asuras* in one of the annual wars with them in which he was victorious. (See notes on Verse I also).

ကွန်ရှန်းသွန်းသား means "To pour or throw down joyfully."

တံခွန်သိမ္မူ။ ရွှေဖောင်ရွှေလှေ။ သိန်းကုလေ့နှင့်။ In *Tawthalin* (September) the river is very calm and a great number of rafts and boats of all sorts ply about for the royal regatta. Hence this passage တံခွန်သိမ္မူ means "A river which is as conspicuous as a flagstaff." သိမ္မူ is a Pāli word for a river. မုံစာရ is made up of မုံ which stands for ယမုံ (the river *Jamma*) and စာရ, a Pāli word which means "charming, beautiful." မုံစာရ therefore means "A charming or beautiful river." All extant texts contain မုံစာယ instead of မုံစာရ. But မုံစာယ does not convey any meaning.

In သင်မြမြရောင် the word သင်မြ means "A mat made of the stalk of the plant *thalia connaefornis*;" and မြရောင် means "Emerald-green colour." The expression သင်မြမြရောင်။ ရေယဉ်ဘောင်ဝတ် therefore means "On the emerald-green water which is as even as a mat."

မြေဖုရုလာ။ ခိုင်လုံညွတ်လျက်။ The flower characteristic of the month of *Tawthalin* is *yinma*—the *chukrasia tabularis* or the *chukrasia velutina*. Hence the reference.

မြေဖုရုလာ means "A land-region" ဖုရုလ being a Pāli term for a region.

ဘုံထွတ်မိုးလယ်။ ဖဝိင်ကြယ်မှ။ သင်းထုံသရစ်။ မွှေးရည်သစ်လိမ်း။ Having given a description of the distinctive features of the month of *Tawthalin* both on land and water, the poet now proceeds to illustrate the chief phenomena seen in the heavens in the same season. The lines simply mean that fresh flower-buds filled with fragrant juice are being formed while the *Padaing* star, the scheldrake and the full-orbed moon are together at their zenith.

ဖဝိင်ကြယ် refers to the *Nakshatra Pyuppâbadrapaik* and it is so called because it consists of four stars resembling the four supports of a bedstead.

ကသိုဏ်းရွှေယုန် refers to the moon. ကသိုဏ်း is derived from the Pāli ကသိဏ which means "One of the modes of *Kammaṭṭhanam* or Buddhist meditation in practising which the mind is exclusively set on a certain object placed before the eye such as a circle (*Kasiṇamaṇḍala*). There are ten sorts of *Kasiṇa*. The word in this sense is more of a *Sanskrit* origin than that of the Pāli. But here it merely means "A pleasing sight." Another meaning of ကသိုဏ်း is "All or entire." So it may perhaps mean an entire disc. ယုန် the hare is the emblem of the moon which always gives pleasure to the eye. (Cf. ယုန်တို့ရတတ် and ရတားယုန်လ above.)

နဝင်းကုန်းမှာ means "At the last *nawin*." A *nawin* is the ninth part of a *râsi* or sign of the Zodaic.

သရစ် in သင်းထုံသရစ် is an archaic word which means "A sprout or a flower-bud." (Cf. စုလည်းငုံသစ်။ ကုန်းသွယ်နစ်လျက်။ သရစ်ရွှေညွန့်။ တွန့်ရွှေတည်။ *Bōngan Pyo*.)

The concluding lines from ရှင်ချစ်သုံးလူ့ သမ္ဘာလျှင် down to the end of the verse refer to Buddha's religious address to a crowd assembled to pay reverence to Him while He was on a journey attended by eight hundred thousand *Ariyas* or holy saints.

များထူသင်္ဃာ means "A considerable number of *sanghās* or Buddhist priests." များထူ implies numerousness or multitude. (Cf. လူထူ—A large crowd of people.)

အရိယာထေရ်ပျံ means "A Buddhist saint or holy monk who possesses the power of flying in the air." အရိယာ (*Pāli*) means "A saint," but in its adjectival sense it may be taken here to mean "venerable, holy, or sanctified." ထေရ် is from the *Pāli* ထေရော which means "A Buddhist monk."

ဘုမ္မာဒေဝ is the same as ဘုမ္မိဒ္ဓိ already noticed in Verse III.

ယက္ခနတ်မွန် are the celestial *Yakkhas*.

သံတော်အင်္ဂါ၊ စုံရှစ်ဖြာနှင့်။ This refers to the eight good qualities with which the voice of Buddha is replete. His voice is (1) clear (*visaṭṭho*), (2) easy of understanding (*suvinnayo*), (3) delightful (*Mañju*), (4) pleasant to hear (*Savaniyo*), (5) firm (*ghano*), (6) weighty, profound or full of meaning (*gambhiro*), (7) resounding (*ninnadito*), and (8) not diffusive (*avisaritā*).

သံတော်အင်္ဂါ၊ စုံရှစ်ဖြာနှင့် etc., means that with a voice replete with eight good qualities and in a manner so tranquil and so calm as to fill the mind with joyful enthusiasm and delight the great Master delivers His sermon to the assembled crowd dwelling upon the heresy of ignorance and exhorting them to free themselves from its thrall as a discharged arrow from its bow. This discourse leaves a deep impression like a *da* which leaves a mark on any thing which it cuts.

Some texts have လေနှယ်လျားသည် instead of လေးနှင့်မြွားသည်။ Though both of them are figurative expressions the latter seems to be more appropriate. The former may be translated "As by the blowing of the wind."

Po Byu.

VII

၇။ ။မဟာသက္က။ မုနိန္ဒဟူ။အနန္တဂုဏ်။သဗ္ဗညုလျှင်။ရေစိုမီးပွင့်။တန်ခိုးလွှင့်၍။ကမြင့်ရောင်ခြည်။
ဘဝင်လည်သာ။သုံးမည်လူနတ်။ပူဇော်အပ်သည်။လူ့တွင်ပရမေ။ဂုဏ်မြဲတောက်။ရှုလေတိုင်းတုံ။ခြီးမကုန်ခဲ့။
ယုန်ဘုံရဟတ်။စန်းငွေမြတ်လည်။နတ်နဂါးနွယ်။တည်မွန်းချယ်၍။မိုးလယ်အာကာ။နတ်ဝလာတို့။ခရေသံ
လှိုင်း။ခြိမ်းခြိမ်းဝိုင်းလျက်။သင်တိုင်းရစ်ခြံ။ညိုလျှံရုံသည်။သံစုံကြီးခြံ။ညှိုးညှိုးငြိမ်းနှင့်။တိဗ္ဗအတိဝေ။အခွေခွေမှာ။
ရွှေမန္တ။ကိ။နတ်နဒိကာ။မြတ်သီဒါပွင့်။စောင်းချီသွန်သို့။သရဝဏ်ဝယ်။စိန်ချွန်စင်းသွား။စိုပ်ပစ်မြားနှင့်။ရထား
ယုန်လ။သိန္ဒဝတို့။ချိန်မျှပြန်။တည်မွန်းညီ၍။ကတ္တရီဝါ။ငွေခတ္တာမှ။ထုံစွာသင်းလျက်။သိတ်မင်းစက်ကာ။
လည်ရှက်မြဲနှောင်။ရေယဉ်ဘောင်၌။ငွေသောင်မြင်မြော။ဒိုက်သရေလည်။တိုက်လျောသံသံ။ကြက်လှိုင်း
ခုန်၍။တပုံမြွေပြန်။ဝေဟာသံဝယ်။သက်တံရေးပြ။တိမ်ချင်းမျှလျက်။သီဟသေလာ။ရွှေဂူသာကာ။တေဇာ
ထိန်ထိန်။စက်ရဝိန်ကို။လက်ချိန်ကြီးထစ်။တန်ခိုးလှစ်၍။မိုးစစ်သေနှင်။ဗျူဟာဆင်ခဲ့။သဘင်မြီးခါ။သည်ချိန်မှာ
ဝယ်။တော်ညီလာခံ။ဝလာကာလည်။ဂေါဏယမုံ။မြစ်ကမ်းခုံထက်။သံပုံသောင်ယံ။တင့်ကြောင်းကြံသို့။ရောင်
လျက်လွန်။ရာသီကန်ကာ။ယုန်မိုးလတ်။လောကခါတ်တွင်။ကြိတ်လျှပ်ပြီးပြောင်။မျက်ကုံးရောင်နှင့်။အောင်
စည်ပုဇွန်။ကွန်ရွှန်းသွန်သာ။တံခွန်သိန္န။မိစာရုံ၌။သင်မြီးမြဲရောင်။ရေယဉ်ဘောင်ဝယ်။ရွှေဇေါင်ရွှေလှေ။
သိန်းကုဋေနှင့်။မြေမဂ္ဂလာ။ထုံဂန္ဓာမှာ။ရင်းမာကြိုင်ဝတ်။ခိုင်လုံသွတ်လျက်။တုံထွတ်မိုးလယ်။ဇေတိုင်ကြယ်မှ။

ပြင်ဆွယ်ညွတ်ရိုင်း၊ ရွှေဥပါင်းနှင့်၊ ကသိုဏ်းငွေယုန်၊ နဝင်းကုန်မှာ၊ သင်းထုံသရစ်၊ မွေးရည်သစ်လိမ့်၊ ရှင်ချစ်
သုံးလူ၊ သဗ္ဗညုလျှင်၊ များထုသင်္ဃာ၊ အရိယာထေရ်ပျံ၊ ရှစ်သိန်းရံ၍၊ သက်ပျံဒေသစာ၊ ဖြန့်မြန်းခါဝယ်၊ သူရာ
နာဂ၊ သက္ကမြေထွာ၊ ဘုမ္မာဒေဝ၊ ယက္ခနတ်မွန်၊ တိရစ္ဆာန်က၊ မြိုင်ယံခိုအောင်း၊ သားအပေါင်းလည်း၊ ညွတ်
ပျောင်းပူဇော်၊ ဖူးကြသော်လျှင်၊ သံတော်အင်္ဂါ၊ စုံရှစ်မြာနှင့်၊ ဒေသနာမြတ်၊ ပရိသာတ်အာ၊ ဟောချွတ်ပြိုင်ပြိုင်၊
ဘဝင်စိမ့်၍၊ နှစ်သိမ့်ကြည့်စွာ၊ မှောင်မိစ္ဆာကို၊ ပယ်ခွါမရှည်၊ သံယောဇဉ်ဖြင့်၊ လွင့်စဉ်ကွာရှာ၊ လေးနှင့်မြား
သည်။ ။ တရားထားသို့လထစ်တည်း။

In wisdom, power and glory, the majestic Sage stands splendidly alone.
The far-flung rays of His glorious form reach the very heart of heaven.
One may gaze and gaze and yet find fresh occasions for added praise.

Jettha appears in highest splendour on the full-moon night of *Nayôn*.
In the etherial heights the rain-gods blow loud and long their wreathed
horns. The sky is robed in its sable livery. Columns of clouds condense
and floods of rain pour down like the mighty rush of the celestial river.

When the *Wagaung* moon is full, *Saravun* and the *pony* fling their
brightest rays. The sun is seen in Leo and the silver-tinted *Khatta* blooms
yield their sweets amidst scissor-like leaves. The tumultuous waters of
swollen streams flow over banks of sand and sweep along dancing drifts.

The silent clouds flame with the colours of the rainbow. Jove ranges
his forces against Phoebus who shines in his strength from Leo.

In *Tawthalin*, the gleeful rain pours and rivers with glittering sands
have a haunting beauty. Lightning-flashes sweep over *Yugan* and the sky
looks gay with the varied hues of nine precious stones. The crustacean
drum emits its mighty roll.

The unruffled face of rivers seems a sheet of emerald. Myriads of boats
flit about on the smooth waters. *Yinma* blossoms appear in wild profusion
on burdened branches and buds are filled with nectar. *Pyuppabadrapaik*, the
Sheldrake and the full-orbed moon tired in their silver, clear heaven with
their light.

The Sage proceeds on His journey with eight hundred thousand *ariyas*.
Celestials and infernals and the creatures of the forest realm bow before Him
in sacred awe. In accents rich and clear, He fills their hearts with gladness
and urges them to snap the iron fetters of ignorance. The impression left
possesses an enduring freshness.

B. H.

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

GLIMPSES OF PRE-HISTORIC BURMA.

Perhaps some member of the Burma Research Society, who is also a Chinese scholar, may be able to give us some information regarding the earliest references to Burma in the Chinese annals. I ask this as Mr. Gordon Selfridge, in his interesting book, "The Romance of Commerce" indicates two such references dated more than two thousand years ago—that is to a period centuries before what I had supposed to be the earliest dawn of authentic Burmese history. Mr. Selfridge is not writing about Burma at all, so the references to that country come in only by chance. He is merely enumerating, in his chapter on China, the rewards of commercial enterprise by the Chinese during the twenty centuries immediately preceding the dawn of the Christian era. It is a remarkable record, but to members of the Burma Research Society, the two items referring to Burma are of supreme interest, and any further information on the subject would be most welcome. Perhaps some Chinese scholar may be able to tell us how far the two records cited may be accepted as authentic, and whether any further similar references to Burma exist. The two cited by Mr. Selfridge are as under:—

- (1) "450 B. C. Foundation of a colony by two Hindu Merchants from Orissa in Ukkalamandala near Rangoon."
- (2) "280 B. C. Commercial intercourse with Hindu Merchants of Pegu facilitated by expedition of King of Teen."

The first thing that strikes one in reading these two records is the introduction of modern names of places, especially that of Rangoon. As this name is supposed to date back to Alompra's time only, it comes as a shock to find it in a record dated more than two thousand years before Alompra's birth. One can only suppose that it was introduced by the translator of the present day. But, if so, how did he know that the name given was that of a place near the modern Rangoon? For centuries before Alompra's time Rangoon was merely the landing place for pilgrims coming by boat to worship at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda. It, no doubt, had a name then, though I do not know what it was. But in 450 B. C. the Shwe Dagon Pagoda did not exist, so Rangoon would not be known even as a landing place for pilgrims. It was a likely enough place, no doubt, for a pioneer Hindu colony, coming by sea, to settle in, and Ukkalamandala may have been there, but it is difficult to understand how the translator fixes the spot so precisely. Again, one wonders whether the name Orissa is given in the original record. If not, how does the translator arrive at that particular part of India as the place of origin of the colonists? Orissa's authentic history is said to go back to 473 A. D. It may, of course, have been known under that name nine centuries earlier, but this does not seem very likely; nor is it probable that the Chinese annalist of 450 B. C. knew enough to clearly distinguish the different parts of India. Pegu is a name which appears in Burmese history long before Rangoon, but one is sceptical about its dating back to 280 B. C.

The name "Teen" is, so far as I know, quite unknown in Burmese history, so it does not present the same difficulty as the modern names. But we shall probably not be far wrong if we assume that Teen was either what is now known as Upper Burma or a powerful Shan State at the time indicated. What the King of Teen probably did to facilitate trade with China was merely to protect the traders from undue exactions at the hands of neighbouring petty potentates through whose territories the traders to and from China had to pass. If he were enlightened enough to do that, he would also restrain his own officials from undue exactions in his own territory. Considering all the natural difficulties in the way of conveying merchandise from Burma to and from China, the wonder is that the levies, legitimate and unauthorised, made in each state traversed did not kill trade altogether. That, however, was an impediment that survived down to our own times. I saw it at work when I was in Bhamo for some months in 1870-71. At that time the authorised levy was one per cent on goods crossing the Burmese frontier for China. But as bales had to be unpacked and the contents repacked in packages suitable for carriage by mules, the Burmese officials insisted that the import duty of five per cent must be paid. They argued also that as the goods were sold in Burma they were liable to the five per cent import duty. The traders paid this without demur, and considered themselves lucky if they escaped with that. But, especially if the goods were such as to excite the cupidity of the official, or, still worse that of his wife, the poor trader had often to pay far more than five per cent. In one case I witnessed the unfortunate trader, who had bought a crate of crockery, had to submit, without open protest, while the Burmese official's wife helped herself to every thing that took her fancy. With similar levies elsewhere and all the cost of carriage the wonder was that any trade at all survived. In the case of an article like crockery, breakages must also have been a drain on any possible profit, but, even in the case of less brittle articles, the cost of carriage, plus numerous exactions on the way, must have always been a great impediment to trade. Yet, if this Chinese record is to be trusted, that trade between Burma and China has existed, though possibly intermittently, for over 2000 years.

Accepting the records as authentic, it is evident that as far back as 450 B. C. an attempt was made by two enterprising Indians to effect a settlement in Burma. If the word "colony" is to be taken in its modern sense they aimed at something more than a mere trading station. They would doubtless bring some clerks and servants with them, and may possibly have brought some cultivators to settle on the land in Burma. Even then India was probably very much more thickly populated than Burma. If that was their idea the neighbourhood of what is now Rangoon would have been a likely enough place for them to settle in. But 170 years later they, or their successors rather—had found trading more lucrative than agriculture. Any way, we hear no more of a colony, but it is possible enough that the original colonists had become merged in the native population. Other colonists may have followed and become merged in the same way. When Burma became converted to Buddhism immigration of this kind would be facilitated so that there may have been a considerable infusion of Indian blood among the

Talaings by the time we get to any genuine history of them. For trade, however, Pegu was probably a more suitable place, especially if it were, even at that remote time, the capital of the Talaing country and city of some importance. By 280 B. C. if the Chinese record is to be trusted, the two Indian merchants who had come to Burma 170 years before, had increased to a body of Indian merchants established in Pegu and of sufficient importance to be known to the authorities in China.

J. STUART.

A NOTE ON THE WORD "LAŊKĀRO."

In the *Silānisamsa-jātaka* (Fausboll, No. 190, Vol. II, p. 112) we read, "Tayo kūpakā indanilamanimayā ahesum, sovaṇṇamayo lakāro, rajatamayāni yottāni suvaṇṇamayāni padarāni."

The phrase "sovaṇṇamayo lakāro" is translated by Mr. Rouse, "the anchor (was made) of gold," in his translation of the *Jātaka*, Vol. II, p. 78 (Cambridge University Press, 1895). Mr. Rouse, however adds the following foot-note:

"*Lakāro* or *laṅkāro*. I do not know what the word means. Prof. Cowell suggests "anchor," the Mod. Persian for which is *langar*."

Childers, following the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, gives to it an ambiguous meaning: "a part of a ship" (1), while Andersen and Gray, probably following the Cambridge University Press translation say that it probably means "an anchor" (2).

With all respect to these scholars, I venture to dissent from them and to suggest that the word *lakāro*=*laṅkāro* means "a sail." My authorities for this meaning are "*A Pāli Vocabulary*" (3), "*Abhidhānappadīpikāsūci*" (4) and a passage in *Pathavīkaṣiṇaniddesa* of Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* (5).

The meaning of this word in the Pāli Vocabulary is "a sail," the *Abhidhānappadīpikāsūci* resolves it into: "*laṃ vātaṃ kariyati etenā ti lakāro*," and gives to the word *kūpaka* "a mast" the meaning "*lakāra-thamba*" (which means: a post to sustain the sails), while the passage from Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*, which very clearly settles the meaning, reads:

"Yathā ca acheko niyāmakō balavavāte *laṅkāraṃ* pūrento nāvāṃ vide-saṃ pakkhandāpeti, aparo acheko mandavāte *laṅkāraṃ* oropento nāvāṃ tatth' eva thapeti, cheko pana mandavāte *laṅkāraṃ* pūretvā balavavāte adḍha *laṅkāraṃ* pūretvā sotthinā icchitaṭṭhānaṃ pāpuṇāti."

This passage may be translated thus:—Just as an unskilful navigator spreads the sails, when the wind blows hard, and lets the ship dash forth to a port not bound for, and the other unskilful navigator, when the wind blows slightly, strikes sail and allows the ship to stand still, but the skilful navigator, when the wind blows slightly, spreads full sails and when the

(1) See Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s. v. *Lakāro*.

(2) See Andersen's Pāli Glossary, s. v. *Laṅkāro* and Pāli Course, Part II, p. 31, (Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1904).

(3) School Pāli Series, II, Vocabulary, by C. Duroiselle, British Burma Press, Rangoon, 1907.

(4) Burmese edition, Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon, 1905.

(5) Vide p. 110, 11, 18-22, Burmese edition, Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon, 1901.

wind blows hard, spreads half sails and safely reaches the port where he wishes to go.

I may add that in M. Duroiselle's copy of Childers' Pali Dictionary there are the entries *laṅkāro* and *laṅkāranāvā* with the meanings "a sail" and "a sailing vessel" respectively; but unfortunately he forgot, when making these entries, to jot down the references which he cannot now trace.

I further venture to suggest that the better reading of the abovementioned passage in the *Silānisaṃsa-jātaka* is "Tayo kūpakā indanīlamanimayā ahesum, suvaṇṇamayā laṅkāra, rajatamayāni yottāni, suvaṇṇamayāni yaṭṭhi-phiyaṇi," (6) *yaṭṭhi* meaning "a bamboo pole used for impelling boats" and *phiya* meaning "rudder, helm."

MAUNG HLA.

BURMESE NOVELS.

8.—*Ma Min Thein of Myaungmya*, (Zabukyetthaye Press, 1905).

In this novel the author tells us how a girl of bewitching beauty is thrown over by her lover. The story ends happily with their eventual union.

Evidently the novelist writes his book for the market like a tradesman who turns out his wares. Since the art of the novel has not come of age in Burma it need not be taken seriously. Its possibilities have not yet been revealed by its strong masters. The commercialism of the journeyman novelist does not therefore call for scathing contempt.

BA HAN.

9.—*Maung Ta Naw Wuttu, Part I.*

By Saya Maung Ba Thin,

Dewa Setku Press, Tharrawaddy, 1907.

This is a handbook of Burmese wisdom in the guise of a novel. The author exhorts us to continue to educate ourselves in ancient Burmese lore, which comprises knowledge of charms and divers other things such as marriage and burial customs, omens and divinations, superstition and ghost-lore, magic and astrology, etc., etc. In short we are to be an encyclopædia of ancient wisdom. The various lessons are given as practical hints to a love-match, which has just enough love-interest to dispel boredom.

—Editor.

(6) This reading is found in the *Jātakāṭṭhakathā*, Vol. II, p. 97, (in Burmese) edited by Saya Pye, Pyigyimundine Press, Rangoon, 1910.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

RECEIVED SINCE APRIL 1919, Vol. IX, Part I.

Indian Antiquary, September and October, 1918.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution (1918).

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle for, 1917—18.

Journal of the East India Association, new series, Vol. X, No. 2—April, 1919.

Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. XLVIII—July to December, 1918.

Inscriptions of Madras Presidency collected till 1915, 3 vols., by V. Rangacharya, M. A., L. T.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting of the Burma Research Society was held on 31st January 1919 at the Rangoon College when there were present with Mr. M. Hunter, C.I.E., president of the Society, in the chair, Mr. and Mrs. G. E. Harvey, the Hon. U Hpay, Saya Thein, Professor Maung Tin, Messrs. J. C. Mackenzie, honorary secretary and treasurer, J. T. Best, J. J. Nolan, A. E. Bellars, A. Rodger, C. K. Davis, G. R. T. Ross, Rev. J. A. Drysdale, and a number of Burmese gentlemen.

ANNUAL REPORT.

The chairman said the first business of the meeting was the reading of the annual report and the treasurer's report which would then be submitted for approval. Mr. Mackenzie read the annual report, which stated that the number of members on the roll of the Society at the beginning of the year was 212. Ten new members were enrolled during the year of whom one, Mr. J. Stuart, was a corresponding member. Two members died during the year, ten others resigned and another twenty-two were deemed to have resigned, leaving the number on the rolls at the end of the year 188. The principal activities of the society during the year included a series of lectures at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition. Two other lectures were delivered at ordinary meetings. Three numbers of the journal were published during the year. A competition for prizes offered by Mr. J. S. Furnivall for Burmese marching songs was arranged. The first prize of Rs. 25 was awarded to Saya Pwa and Mr. F. Mariano of Toungoo for their song "Aungze Kyaung taung su-ban." The second prize, which was also Rs. 25, was divided between Havildar Maung Ba Shein of the Sappers and Miners for a song to the air of "Marching Through Georgia," and Maung Ba Geor for his song to the air of "John Brown's Body." A selection of the entries was being published in book form, the proceeds to be devoted to the regimental fund of the Burmese regiments. An exchange of publications was effected with the Vijirañāna National Library, Bangkok.

The treasurer's report showed that the year opened with a balance of Rs. 7,175. The income during the year was Rs. 2,755. The expenditure amounted to Rs. 1,869, leaving a balance at the close of the year of Rs. 8,061, of which balance Rs. 5,100 was invested in war bonds and cash certificates.

Mr. Nolan proposed that the annual report be accepted and the Rev. Mr. Drysdale seconding, this was done. Mr. Harvey proposed that the treasurer's report be passed, Maung Tin seconded, and it was so ordered.

The election of officers followed. Mr. Nolan proposed that the president, Mr. Hunter, and the vice-presidents, Mr. J. S. Furnivall, Mr. J. T. Best and the Hon. U Hpay, be re-elected. This was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Drysdale and carried unanimously.

Mr. Hunter thanked the meeting for electing him again and said that he thought the introduction of new blood would have been advisable, but since

they had seen fit to re-elect him he again thanked them and would do his best.

The election of the other officers was proceeded with and Mr. J. C. Mackenzie was re-elected honorary secretary and treasurer; Maung Tin was re-elected editor of the journal, and the present committee with the inclusion of Professor Ward, who took the place made vacant by resignation, were re-elected enbloc on the motion of Mr. J. T. Best. The committee is as follows:—the Rev. Dr. Gilmore, Mr. Taw Sein Ko, C.I.E., Mr. Duroiselle, the Hon. Mr. Justice Maung Kin, the Hon. Mr. Morgan Webb, the Bishop of Rangoon, Bishop Cardot, the Rev. J. A. Drysdale, Prof. G. R. T. Ross, Mr. J. J. Nolan, U May Oung, Mr. A. P. Morris, Prof. K. M. Ward, Mr. L. F. Taylor, Prof. Luce, Mr. A. Rodger, U Kyaw Dun, K. S. M., Mr. L. Ah Yain, U Shwe Zan Aung, U Po Byu, Mr. A. Khalak and Mr. G. E. Harvey.

Mr. J. Stuart's paper entitled "Arakan Eighty Years Ago" was read by Mr. G. E. Harvey immediately following the election of officers:

Discussion was invited on the paper by the president, who admitted that the paper was hardly one that there could be much discussion on. The paper had been very interesting as it had brought out certain facts in the history of the early British possession of Burma of which there was very little on record. These facts seemed to come chiefly from old files of Moulmein papers and that made them all the more interesting as such files were very rare. The paper had been most interesting and he asked the meeting to pass a vote of thanks to Mr. Stuart whose paper would be published in the journal. (See Vol. IX, pt. I.) This was accorded and the meeting adjourned, the visitors being regaled in another room with light refreshments.

OPEN MEETINGS.

Two meetings, to which the public were invited, were held at the Rangoon College on 27th February and 6th March, when Mr. G. E. Harvey, I. C. S. read two papers on Burmese History. (Printed in the present number).

Minutes of the Sub-Committee meeting held at the Rangoon College on the 20th December, 1918.

PRESENT:

M. Hunter, Esq., M. A., *President.*
U May Oung, *Barrister-at-Law.*
Maung Tin, M. A.

Business.

1. The minutes of the previous Sub-Committee meeting held on the 9th July, 1918 were read and confirmed.
2. It was resolved that a meeting of the Committee be called for the 28th January, 1919, at 8 A. M.

3. It was resolved that a date of the Annual General Meeting be fixed for the 31st January, 1919, at 5-30 P. M.

4. The Sub-Committee approved of the papers being read by the undermentioned gentlemen at the Annual Provincial Arts and Crafts Meeting:—

On 20th January, 1919, a paper by Mr. A. P. Morris on Burmese Lacquer Work.

On 21st January, 1919, a paper by Saya Lun.

On 22nd January, 1919, a paper by Mr. G. E. Harvey, I. C. S.

On 23rd January, 1919, a paper by Saya Pi.

It was also agreed that Mr. Hunter should preside at Mr. Morris' lecture.

It was also resolved that U Pe, K. S. M., Mr. J. S. Furnivall, I. C. S. and the Hon. Mr. Justice U Kin should be asked to preside at the lectures by Saya Lun, Mr. G. E. Harvey and Saya Pi respectively.

5. It was arranged that a paper by Mr. J. Stuart should be read at the Annual General Meeting on the 31st January, 1919.

20th December, 1918.

J. C. MACKENZIE,
Secretary.

THE BIRTH FEAST OF THE MONS.*

Some time ago I had the opportunity of witnessing the proceedings at a birth feast in a Mon village here in Siam. We were told on the day previous that it was to be in the morning but were assured that we need not be in any great hurry. As it happened, however, one of the men concerned came quite early to call the midwife whose presence is one of the necessities of the case. We found that the proper time for such a rite to begin was just as the sun appeared on the horizon *တို့ယိုက်ဂုဏ်တိုက်* *yuik muk* "when the sun lifts his face" in the expressive Mon phrase. We went therefore and saw the ceremony of bathing with the soap acacia. It is called in Mon *စက်ကလပ်* *caw kapo* referring to the pouring of the decoction of soap acacia by which the bathing is done. As in the Burmese similar festival *ကပ်ကပ်* it ought to take place soon after birth, but in practice it is often postponed until a convenient time is found, sometimes for so long that another child of the same parents is ready for the ceremony. On the occasion to be described there were indeed three children of one family.

Subsequently in chatting with a Mon friend about what I had seen, he showed me in his manual of rites and ceremonies a ritual for the occasion. I had it copied and now propose to give it here with a translation and notes after describing what I saw.

A number of families had joined together for the occasion, and there were in all twelve children bathed at the time. A space had been cleared convenient to the group of houses and mats spread on the ground on which were laid out trays containing plantains, prawns, bowls of sweetmeats and vessels of grain. Along one side of the mats were ranged in a row twenty-four water chatties, two for each child one of which contained the decoction of soap acacia and the other saffron water. On the outside of the row of pots a plank was laid to keep the bare feet out of any puddle; and it was on this plank that the midwife stood in pouring the water over the children. There was also a tray for each child or family with oil, powder or paste and perfume for the children, and chewing materials for the midwife who helped herself as she went on with the bathing ceremony.

When all was seen to be in readiness the midwife took her place beside the chatties pertaining to the children of the first family to be treated. Then the old grandfather came forward and had water poured on his hands by the midwife. Next the father of the children took up a position grasping with his two hands the handle of a dah or large chopping knife the blade of which rested with its point in the ground. In this position the midwife poured water on his hands, the water running to the ground along the knife blade. The three children were now brought forward and beginning with the eldest each was bathed by the midwife pouring the water from the chatties on the head and then rubbing down with her hands as the water ran down the child's body, and muttering a prayer the while. Although I stood as close to her as possible I could not make out her words. With a pair of scissors she then cut off the ends of the long hair on the child's crown. In the case of the

* Read at the ordinary meeting held on 29th August, 1919.

little baby just short ends of the hair were snipped. The ends of hair were placed on the tray containing the oil, pastes and perfumes. From this tray too held up by the mother the midwife took the cosmetics to smear and perfume the child's head and body. She also helped herself to the betel chewing materials on the tray as her need required. A necklet of cord was put over the head of each child. This I took to be the paritta cord or charmed thread for protection. In the case of one child a neighbour woman came forward to take the place of grandmother, no grandparent being available, though whether dead or merely not living in the village I did not learn. Each child in turn was bathed from its own chatties and beautified by its own cosmetics.

The village natural came along on the scene and caused some merriment. Water was squirted on him in fun and then he was made to kneel down and grasp the dah whilst water was poured on his hands. All this was done in a spirit of fun by the funny man of the occasion.

There was a great gathering of people old and young present, women predominating. After the last child had been bathed all the women who had visited any of the mothers in their confinement now came forward each in turn and had water from the chatties poured on their hands. This is part of the ceremony.

Of the trays of food stuffs ranged on the mats there were three for each child, one to be presented to the midwife, one to the mother, and the other to the relatives I was told; and soon we saw the village maidens picking up the several trays and carrying them hither and thither. I now thought the ceremony was all over and that it remained only for the guests to participate in the feast spread for them in the neighbouring house, and as we were anxious to be away on our return home we went back to our lodgings to get our own simple breakfast and make preparations for leaving. On going to the feast house to take leave of our friend the head of the house we saw that a great supply of rice and curries and various dishes, sweet, sour, and savoury had been prepared for the occasion.

My friend, however, who gave me the ritual informs me that the ceremonial therein set forth ought to take place in the house after the bathing on the ground, and that there the chief ministrant is not the midwife but the *acā* (Sans. *ācārya*) the representative of the Brahman sage. In that case the seven offerings mentioned are arranged on the floor the sage sitting on one side of the offerings and the parents with the child sitting on the other side facing him. My friend said the ceremonial was regularly carried through in his village but unfortunately he was unable to show me an actual example of it as he had heard of none taking place in the meantime. The translation will, I think, make the thing fairly plain.

ဂလာန်ပသေက်ကောန်။

ဩကာသမိဝါ။ နမောမိလတုနံ။ ဩရတဏ် အဟံဝန္ဓာ။ ဗုဒ္ဓဓမ္မသံဃာနုဿ။ မာတာပိတု
ဂုရုဥပဇ္ဈာ။ ဖိန္နောဒေဝဗြဟ္မဏောကာ။ သဗ္ဗသိဒ္ဓတာဝန္တုတေ။ ဗိဟိရဏ်တုဉ်သုတ်ရတ်မိဋ္ဌိကာ။
မိကျိမစါအစာဥပဇ္ဈာ။ နိဗ္ဗိတံလ္လောဂ်ကွဉ်ဗ္ဗာသံဃာရ။ ဖိနိဗ္ဗိတိယိမာဓိတိမှာဒေဝါ။ ဒေဝတံဗု

မိုးထဲကိုဆိုက်သိုစက္ကဝါ။ သွိုဝ်တုသွိုတွဲသွိုသွိုကျာရ။ ဆိုက်သဗ္ဗနာနာနကြိမ် အဲဒိုက်ယိုက် ထပ်တုန် ဆိုက်ဇာပိဂုဏ်ဝေဝါ။ ပါပကိုဝါဒသံဃယျကိုမမြာညိ။ ဒိတ္တိပေင်ညးနတ္ထတ်ယးမတ်ဇါ။ အယုက်သို ပိုန်ဆိုက်ခြပ်ရတ်အနက်ဃာ။ အထိုင်ပွိုက်မိုက်ကွာကိုနာမြာဝံညိရအံ။

နွဲကပ်တန် ပထမ ဖြိုရောင်ညးပပြာကတ်။ မှာဖြိုအစာခွဲအရပ်တမိုက်ရတ်။ ဇာပိခွကာလ လျာတ်မိုက်ရတ်မနွဲကိုကြိမ်။ တောမိုန်မနွဲကိုဖြို တောင်တွယ်ပွဲခွ။ ဘုတ်ပိခေါတ်ပန်ရ မင်ခွဲရတောင်။ ဆိုက်သိုဝေဝတ်တ္ထ။ ကောင်မင်ခွဲသိုညးမသုန်။ ဖိုအဲဒိုက်ရံတုန်နွဲဂုဏ်ခွေတောဇ။ ပရေင်နမူယဖြို ရောင်ညးမတွေကွာ။ ပိုန်တိုက်ပွဲလိုက်ဗာဒပဗတ်ကွင်ရီလွယ်ဝံရ။ နွဲခွဲရီပေင် ၇ ကွအာသိုဟ်အာ။

အုဝံခွဲကိုဒ်ခဲသေထီ ဇောတ်ကကိုဝံ ပတုခြပ်ရတ်။ ညးလှို၊ ခွဲပကိုဝံပေင် ၁၀ တြိုင်ပွိုင်ပိုန် ဟာန်ညးဂွေတိသုန္ဒရီ၊ ညးဂ မြိုင်သိုလင်ကာပကိုမာန်။ ကြိမ်ခွေထောန်လာန်ကိုဝံသိုလင်ဟာန်ထီ။ ပိုန်ဟာန်ကိုတန်ကန်ညင်လက်သန်သေထီညိ။ ဂုန်နုဂုဒ္ဓိ သိဒ္ဓိသမ္ပတိကိုဝံသေထီသွယ်။ ထိုက်မသုန် ဂုဏ်တြိကိုဝံပိုင်ပေင်ကိုနာသွယ်။ အထိုင်ခွဲဝံကိုနာသွယ်။ အထိုင်ခွဲဝံကိုနာသွယ်။

အုဝံရမဝံဒင်ခွဲ ၂။ ညိုင်ဇတ်လသေထီကွာကိုဝံပြာကတ်ရောင်ဆဲး။ သိုဗွတ်ကခွတ်သုပကိုဝံပွိုင် နာ။ ခြပ်ဝင်သိုအာကွဲညိုင်ဗျာသေထီတခွာ။ ဆိုက်သိုညးခွဲပိုက်ကိုဒေကွင်ဖျေမေတ္တာ။ ကိုဒေဆာန် သိုက်ညိုင်ကောန်ဂုဒ္ဓိအို။ ဝေဝတ်အလိုစက္ကဝါ။ ကိုဝံရောက်ဂုဏ်မိသိုဂုဏ်မကိုဝံပတုပညာ။ အထိုင် တွယ်ခွဲဇါသိုဇါကိုနာမြာဝံညိရအံ။

အုဝံရမဝံဒင်ခွဲမိ။ ကိုကိုဝံနွဲခိမိမိခွဲပွဲတိသုန္ဒရီခွဲ။ ခွဲခွဲပွဲဝင်ဂါ။ ခွဲဝတ်လတူကျာ။ ခွဲဝတ်ကို ဒေဝံဒင်ခွဲ။ ခါနုသိုတ္ထ။ ကောင်ခြပ်ဝင်ကိုဆိုက်တိုက်။ ဆဲးလွကိုညးမြိုင်ဖိုပိုက်ဇောပိုက်။ ပိုန်ဟာန် သိုခြပ်ဝင်ကိုညးဒေဝံဒင်ကွာ။ ခြပ်ဝင်သိုအာကွဲကိုဒေဝံဒင်ကွာဖိုသို။ ပိုန်ဟာန်ကိုတန်ကန်ညင်လက် သန်သေထီညိ။ အထိုင်ခွဲပိုက်သိုမိကိုကိုဝံညိရအံ။

အုဝံရမဝံဒင်ခွဲပန်ကို ဝံပတုခြပ်တြိနထပ်။ ကိုဝံဒေဝံဒင်ကွဲတဏှင်ဝင်ခွဲခိမိပိုက်။ ကုန်ကွ သိုကွိုင်ကျိုက်ညးဒေဝံဒင်ပိုက်ရံ။ ညိုင်သိုမှာမနွဲတတ်အံကိုနွဲတုအုမိဗလ။ ကုသိုသိုကိုခါနုဂတကိုဝံ ဆန်ခန်။ ခွဲလှိုင်ဏာမုက္ခဝါကိုဒ်သိုက်မှာဇန်။ သတ်တြိကိုသုးသောဝီဝီကိုသုးခွန်။ အထိုင်တုံခွဲပန် ကိုဝံစတန်ပွဲနာသွယ်ရအံ။

အုဝံရမဝံဒင်ခွဲမသုန်ကိုနွဲဂုဏ်ဗျေတ်။ အယုတ်ပေင် ၂၁ ဂ်ကိုဝံဒင်ဂန္ထီပယင်။ ပိဋကတ်သို ဗေဒင်ကိုဝံလေပ်ကျိုက် ညိုင်သေသာတ်။ ကိုဝံပွိုင်ရင်သုတ်ဇာတ်နိပါတ်ကိုဝံပိုင်မြာသိုဇောတ်။ ကိုဝံ ဟင်ပြင်ကထောကောဒေဝံဒင်ဝေါသာ။ ခွဲလှိုင်ဏာမုက္ခဝါညိုင်ကိုမှာခွေတ်။ ကိုဝံဒ်ဇောတ်တြိခြကိုဝံ နွဲတပညာ။ ဂဇာဝေါင်ဝေါတောင်ရယှောင်ကိုဒ်သာ။ နွဲကိုကွတ်ပညာကိုကိုဝံဂုဏ်။ အထိုင်တုံခွဲမသုန် သိုမသုန်ကိုဝံစတန်ပွဲဇာသွယ်ရအံ။

အုဝံရမဝံဒင်ခွဲ ၆ ကိုဝံပတုဒိုက်တြိခြကိုဝံပိုင်။ ပြေင်ကွဲကိုပေင်မိုင်ကိုဝံပိုင်ယာန်ခွဲခိမိ။ ဒိုက် ဗွတ်ဂမြိုင်ကွိုင်ကျိုက်ပညပ်ကွိုင်။ လာဘကိုဆိုက်တိုက်။ ဟ်ခွဲပိုက်ဇောပိုက်။ ဇောတ်ဇောတ်သွပ်ပယိုင် ကိုကွင်။ ဗွတ်ဒိုက်နင်ကိုဝုန်ခင်ပလိုက်ဇာတ်နင်ကိုကွီ။ ပိုန်ဟာန်ညိုင်ဗွင်ဇာတ်ဝါဂတတြိ။ အုဝံရခွဲ ၆ ကိုနာသွယ်ရအံ။

အုဝံရမဝံဒင်ခွဲ ၇ ကြိမ်ဗျေတ်ထောန်ထန်။ ဝုင်ထွ ၇ ဝုန်ဘုတ်ပန်ကိုဒေဝံဒင်တုန်။ မိခွေတ် ညး ၅ မနွဲဂုဏ်ခွေတောဇ။ ခွေတ်မဟာပိနာသကပူကိုပိကျိုင်ပသိုနုန်။ ဩထာဝတိကွာက္ခောဝဇာတ် ပဒတ်။ ဩဇာဇာတ်ခွဲဝတ်ပွဲသိုဟ်ခနီး။ ကုမ္ဘာရာကုမ္ဘာနွဲဂုဏ်ခွေတ်ကိုကြိမ်။ သိုထိုသိုထပ်ပြယ်ဇာတ် မေတ္တာ။ သိုပိတုန်ဇါ စက္ကဝါထ ထွန်မိကိုမကွဲနာသွယ်တမးအာ။ ဇာတ်သိုထာတာသုခါကိုမြာ ပြယ်။ ချောင်ခင်သိုထွ် အဲဒိုက်ပေင်ခြယ်သိုခွန်။ ထာဝရသယိုထပ်တုန်သိုကိုဂုဏ်ကွင် ၅ ခွဲကပ် ခွဲ ၇ တိတ်ထွ်ထပ်သို ၇ ကိုဝံခွေတ်မောင်အာကိုနာသွယ်တုံညိရအံ။

THE BLESSING OF THE CHILDREN.

Okāsa (1) three times. Namō (2) thrice repeated. Tri ratanaṃ ahri vandā. Buddha dhamma saṅgha gunnā. Mātāpitu guru upajjhā. Indo deva brahmalokā. Sabbasiddhi bhavantu te. (3) Coming to the Buddha indeed the three gems manifest, father and mother both and spiritual preceptor I yield my reverence in every particular. Indra, (4) Brahma, (5) Yamo, (6) Māra (7) and all the great devas, the devas of the ten directions also throughout the universe, Moon, Sun, Rain, wind, the devas of all classes, with honour I acknowledge my dependence upon them all. May the inauspicious times be put aside and auspicious time (8) be given for our enjoyment. May the lunar day be full and clear and the lunar mansion be one seeing with both eyes. (9) May there be length of days and wealth and treasures manifold. May the child obtain the enjoyment of his heart's desires.

From the beginning of the world it was Brahma indeed who proclaimed this ceremony, it was the great Brahma sage (10) who wielded the gem. When the powerful gem (11) is dangled over each tray the foods in it become possessed of all kinds of flavours. The three bhutas and the four dhatus (12) keep watch over the offerings truly. All the five devas (13) of destiny

1 ဝိကာသ (Pali *Okāsa*) "occasion, opportunity." It is repeated three times on ceremonial occasion by way of asking permission.

2 နမော *namo*, the initial word of the formula for honouring the Buddha.

3 The Mon translation follows these Pali verse with amplification.

4 တိနိ more often သိတိနိ Indra or Sakko, the ruler of the five lowest *kāmadevalokas*, who is ever watchful over the actions of men and ready to interfere in behalf of the meritorious.

5 ဗြဟ္မာ *Mahābrahmā*, the ruler of the Brahma heavens.

6 ယမိ often သိယမိ Yamo, the angel of Death and ruler of the infernal regions.

7 မာ Māro, the Tempter, the ruler of the highest of the six *kāmadevalokas* and interfering in the affairs of men for ill.

8 ဝါပသဝိဇ္ဇယ (Pali *pāpo, samayo*) indicate a division of the days into inauspicious and auspicious.

9 This has reference to a triple division of *nakshatras* into (1) seeing with two eyes, (2) blind in two eyes, and (3) seeing with one eye and blind in one eye. Those seeing with two eyes are most auspicious.

10 မာဗြဟ္မာတေ Mahābrahma one of the four sages. According to Mon tradition, when in the beginning the people desired a king Mahāsāmantā was appointed to rule over them, and he had four sages. Brahma was his preceptor, a *rishi* was his lawgiver, Indra his architect, and a brahman his astrologer. The Mons refer back their extra-religious ceremonial to this time.

11 မိုက်ရတ် "a diamond." In the ceremony in practice a ring with any kind of stone is used. The sage (*aca*) sitting opposite the parents with the child holds a rod in his hand with the ring hanging at the end of a line attached to it. He causes it to touch the open hands of the child and then dangles it over the foods in the trays.

12 ဘုတ်ဒါဝိတ်ပန် I take this to be a conventional way of referring to the four elements viz. earth, water, fire, air, in relation to the nourishment of the body used like မိုက်ဒါဝိတ်ပန် when speaking of the Vedas. In the blessing of the seventh offering it is simply ဘုတ်ပန်။

13 See their names in the last blessing.

keep watch as a result of my reverence there is much and powerful favour. Since it was arranged by Brahma from the beginning to present these offerings we in the world of men must follow the precedent. From one up to full seven we therefore maintain the offering.

With this the first offering let the child be possessed of precious things like the wealthy Jotika. Let not anyone in the broad world (14) be comparable to him in riches nor let men be able to take these away from him. With great honour may he enjoy riches continually. May wealth be made sure to him as befits one having the characteristics of a Setthi. May he be endowed with the virtues of increase, success, and riches. May the child be replete with the five charms (15) and the six virtues. (16) According to this first offering may it be with the child.

This is the word of the second offering. Like the wealthy Jatiḷa let him flourish and become known to fame. Let not ruler, nor fire, nor thief, nor water (17) harm the child. Let there be appurtenances of a household (18) and an inheritance to the extent of the wealthy ones of old. Let all from the ten directions come and show their friendliness. Let them love him as they would an own child. So too the devas throughout the universe. Let him repay the kindness of father and mother and become a man of understanding. According to the words of the two offerings may the child prosper.

Thus must the third offering be presented. May he obtain the three jars of treasure, one set in the earth, one in the waters of the ocean, and one above the air which the devas must bring. Let him be pleased with his luck, his destiny, and the requisites of a household. Let not even one from the ten directions or the eight directions do him harm. Let them rather bring presents of goods and the requisites of a household. Let them come and present these things at his house. May wealth be made sure to him in conformity with the characteristics of a wealthy person. May the child obtain the wishes.

Thus must the fourth offering be made. May the child be the possessor of jewels and silver and gold. May his name be blazed abroad as having pallanquins and riding elephants and servants to attend with instruments of

14 ဥဒေသိယူရီ "earth's surface." သုန္ဒရီ is the fem. form of the Pali *sundara*. But it is just possible that there is some confusion with *visundara* "earth." The earth spirit who registers men's vows is called ဗုဒ္ဓိသုန္ဒရီ.

15 ဇိဝိတသုန္ဒရီ = Pali "*pañca kalyāṇāni*, or five feminine charms" — "fine hair, red lips, pearly teeth, a blooming complexion, and youth."—Childers. The terms themselves are commonplace but a good deal is read into them. They are hair, flesh, bone, skin, and age or time of life. The last is understood to mean that a person might be a hundred years old and yet appear as in the bloom of youth.

16 ဂုဏ်ခြံ "six pleasing characteristics." They are not to be too tall, nor too short, nor too stout, nor too lean, nor too dark, nor too fair. These with the five charms form two subdivisions of the sixty-four characteristics of a good woman.

17 ခုပ္ပတိဥတိဥ "ruler, fire, thief, water." These are four of the five dangers (စီဝ ၅) to which mankind is exposed. The fifth is သူ "enmity."

18 ငြိဝဝံ This phrase which occurs several times made up of ငြိဝံ for ခြံဝံ (Sans. *drabya*) "property" and ဝံ "an enclosure, a compound," refers apparently to the things necessary to set up a separate establishment when the time comes.

music by which the people show their homage. May he be endued with power like the great king Mandhat. (19) May he be familiar with merit and good luck in the time to come. Wherever he shows his face may he be the delight of the people. May enemies keep far from him and may dangers be kept away. According to the words of the fourth offering let it happen to the child.

Thus must the fifth offering be made. Let him attain to fame. At the age of twenty one let him become a monk. Let him be well versed in the Pitakas and the Vedas in all their varied knowledge. Let him have a good grasp of the suttas and the jātakas and be able to distinguish the nipātas (20) in all their particulars. Let him thus bring salvation to his family and his relatives. Wherever he shows his face let him be like a great deva, and let him be a wise man and great before men and women. When he sits in the feast the centre of attraction, (21) let his voice give pleasure and let him gain favour with his knowledge. According to the words of the fifth offering with all five let it rest upon the child.

Thus you will present the sixth offering. May he have slaves male and female in plenty. May his enclosures be filled with buffaloes and oxen and may horses and elephants be plentiful. Let slaves and followers play the musical instruments making a sounding noise. May gifts give joy from the ten directions, the eight ways; these from above being sent down by raft, those from below coming in ships; from the east brought by pack animals and from the west by carts. May goods be like heaps of sand and may there be retinue going before and coming after. This then is the prayer of the sixth offering; may the children thus prosper.

With this word you will present the seventh offering of great honour and fame. Let the four principal elements (22) keep watch over the food of the seventh offering. There are five devas of great and powerful favour. The deva Mahā Vināyaka comes and makes her palace in the head. Ossavātī takes up her abode in the mouth. Lakshmī indeed is in the two eyebrows. Mindrandevī again comes and takes up residence in the two ears. Srī Candī lives in the region of the bosom. May boys and girls receive glorious benefits. May the seven days at once come and show their friendliness and with them the twelve months of the circling year. This day the parents make offerings that their children may shine forth; that they may prosper quickly and win victory with gifts and happiness. The seven blossoms of truth (23)

19 မှာမနွှာတ် for မဟာသာမန္တိ I take it. See note 10.

20 သုတ်ဇာတ်နိပါတ်။ *Suttam* a division of the tripitakas. *Jātakam* a subdivision of the *Suttapitakam*. *Nipato* enters into the names of the subdivision of the suttas. They represent the more popular literature of the scriptures read by the monks to the people.

21 ထောင် I have been unable to get this word explained further than that refers to a performer who is for the moment the one person to be heeded.

22 ဘုတ်ဝနီ (Pali *cattāro mahābhūtā*) the four principal elements. see note 12.

23 ချောင်းခပ်သိုထွဲ This is a reference to the sevenfold division of the Abhidhamma, one of the Pitakas.

I lift up and bear on my head. On my head too I bear up the five Buddhas of the present kalpa.

I have come out and spoken the words of the seven offerings. May therefore the children increase and grow and obtain (according to our wishes).

R. HALLIDAY.

CONCERNING NIBBANA.*

An old gentleman of China who lived and died there some time ago, left to mankind as his legacy a brief treatise on what he called the "Tao," wherein he approached his subject with these significant if somewhat intriguing opening words: "The Tao that can be named is not the veritable Tao. The Tao that can be spoken of is not the eternal and enduring Tao." In somewhat similar fashion, one who essays to utter anything in speech and writing about Nibbana, if he would be entirely accurate and mislead none, is bound to say before he says anything else, that the Nibbana he names and speaks of must not be taken for the genuine, the eternal, enduring Nibbana. For this is only another way of saying that Nibbana being what it is, an experience unique, sole, entirely different from every other experience man knows, it is quite impossible to say anything about it that will be really true, in the only words we have at our disposal, the words we use in the traffic and business of common, ordinary experience. It is only another way of saying that when we suppose ourselves to be speaking about Nibbana, what we really are speaking about—precisely because we can do nothing else—is our own particular notion or idea or conception of Nibbana, not the real, true Nibbana itself.

It would seem, then, a rather hopeless undertaking to attempt to say anything at all about what Nibbana really is. Yet the matter is not as entirely hopeless as thus it would seem. Happily there is an experience open to men—to some men at least—which bears fairly close analogy to the experience, Nibbana, if indeed it might not be called a kind of Nibbana itself, a sort of little Nibbana, as it were. The members of the race to whom this experience is possible are those we call artists.

To every real artist, by which term one does not mean every one who has acquired facility in the manipulation of pigments on plane surfaces, or of clay or marble, but one who more or less clearly and vividly perceives in visible objects the Idea—see Plato—lying behind them of which they are the visible expression,—to every such man there comes some time or other in his life, and if he is fortunate, perhaps more than once, a moment when, in the contemplation of some object of beauty, suddenly a strange thing happens. All at once there bursts on him an extraordinarily intense perception of the beauty of the object. Its colours brighten. Its outlines become more lovely and gracious. The thing or scene becomes as though he had never seen it before, as though it were something he now were beholding for the first time in all its wonder. And along with this miraculous change, and strangest of all, there goes this other, that he, the person beholding this spectacle of beauty, disappears, is no longer there. The beauty exists there alone, untainted by the presence of any one beholding it. An object of beauty is seen, but there is no one seeing it! And this peculiar experience is not, as might be imagined, accompanied by anything of unease or apprehension or fear, but on the contrary by a sense of such serene, such perfect well being, that the individual feels as if he could ask no higher happiness than to remain thus

* See the two contributions to nibbana in Vol. VIII, pt. III—*Editor*.

always. Of course, he does not so remain. The experience departs almost as suddenly as it came, and the artist falls back into the region of common day. But having had such an experience, henceforth all his effort in the practice of his art is effort to paint or carve, if only it might be granted him, what will reveal to his fellow-men some hint, some gleam however flying and remote, of what himself has experienced, something that may contribute to bring them, if it may not be otherwise, at least a little way along the road in the direction of one day obtaining such an experience for themselves. He becomes a Turner or a Raphael, a Phidias or a Michelangelo; and lavishes upon the world examples it does not willingly let perish, of all it prizes most as Beauty.

In this brief description of the artist's ecstasy or *ekstasis*, it has been said that his object is seen and yet there seems to be no one seeing it. And this, of course, as thus put in words, is absurd,—but it is true! It is impossible,—but it happens! Every artist knows it; "the rest may reason and welcome," and in their reasoning triumphantly prove it absurd and impossible and anything else of the sort they have a mind to. Quite obviously, in such an experience as this, we are in a region where reason is not at all the master, but if it comes in at all, comes in only as servant to do dull soddage labour for us as required, after the master has come to his decisions. In plainer language: Here as everywhere, the facts come first, are what they are; and logic and reason must come after them and accommodate themselves to these as best they can—and must.

But besides artists, there is another class of men who are able to touch a region of experience where the normal sense of self we all usually work with, is removed; and these are the class of men whom we call saints, of East as of West. There is this great difference, however, between them and the artists in their experience of the loss of the sense of self, and that is that the artist's experience happens as it were by a sort of happy accident; it is an experience over which he has little or no control in the way of power to bring it about when he would wish. In addition, when it does come, it lasts only for a few brief moments and then leaves him, beyond his power to retain it or make it last longer. The saint's or Yogi's experience, on the other hand, is the result of a deliberate effort, rather, of a long series of deliberate efforts, extending frequently over all the activities of his life, directed toward this end, albeit in the West the individual may not have any very clear idea of what precisely is going to happen when he reaches the goal he is aiming at. And further: When the saint or Yogi, as result of the mental and spiritual technique he has practised, obtains the experience it is designed to bring him, it is much longer lasting than the artist's, and, as we should expect, seeing that it is the outcome of a conscious, deliberate aim, in the cases of its more perfect attainment, it is entirely under the control of the attainer, coming to him at will at any moment he pleases. Those who, in the Buddhist system of spiritual training, thus attain this experience in its *full, complete, perfect* form, are called Arahans; and the full, complete, perfect experience itself is called Nibbana. And just as the artist, as result of his momentary and almost accidental experience, is able

to give the world surpassing examples of Beauty in colour and line and contour, so the Buddhas and Arahans, as result of their deliberately achieved, fully mastered experience, present the world with examples in the highest class of what the world calls Holiness, which is Whole-ness—the two are the same thing—and henceforth radiate upon their fellow-men such powerful influences for good as history records attended the appearing of Gotama Buddha and His Arahans wherever they appeared in the course of their wanderings. In this connection readers of the Therigātha will remember the song of the common harlot who, hearing the Buddha's word, became a totally changed woman, as well as other instances of similar import.

But now let us distinguish, as Thomas Aquinas would say, so that the enemy may have no occasion to blaspheme. This experience, Nibbana, is beyond the sphere where normally acting reason and its rules of logic hold good; and that means that it is beyond the sphere where those tools of reasoning, words, are of any avail. (In our present attempt to suggest it in words, we have just been guilty of the absurdity and impossibility of asserting that a thing can be seen and nobody be there to see it!) Hence it follows, as already said at the outset, that in all that is asserted or mooted or suggested, or ever in any way can be uttered in any form of words, subtle or plain, about Nibbana or Nibbanic consciousness (if one may even use such a word as 'consciousness' in connection with it!), we are not actually describing the real, true Nibbana, but only so much of it—necessarily mutilated and distorted in the process—as we are able to drag somehow through the narrow doorway of our normally acting brain-consciousness, and in one fashion or another, well or ill, *tant bien que mal* as the French say, fit with a form of words that will have some validity for such a consciousness. It is of this fragment, this twisted, torn-off piece of the true Nibbana, this accommodation of its supreme actuality to the possibilities of a consciousness that can only work with appearances, and the instruments, words, which this consciousness uses for describing its own processes,—it is of this and only of this that we are speaking when we suppose ourselves to be speaking of Nibbana; it is never of the true, genuine Nibbana that we speak. Of this no words whatever that we can use are valid. No terms at all that have meaning for a brain-consciousness can at all apply to it. If in desperation we persist in endeavour to put the *genuine* Nibbana in words, we shall only find ourselves talking, *can* only find ourselves talking, absurdities.

In the end there is really only one thing to be done about Nibbana, and that is to get it,—or to let it get us, whichever way we please to put it. Perhaps the latter is the more correct mode of expression. For, since the essence of the experience so far as we can suggest it in words at all, is the disappearing of the sense of ordinary self-existence, it is hardly commendable to speak of a self securing it. (Another example, this, of the difficulty of saying anything about Nibbana that will not border perilously on nonsense!)

One thing certainly we must avoid. We must avoid attributing to real Nibbana anything whatsoever of the notions, ideas, concepts which run their course inside these heads of ours. We must recognise that all such notions,

ideas, concepts, belong purely to our *representation of Nibbana*, never to Nibbana itself. Nibbana, the real, true Nibbana, in contradistinction to the representation of Nibbana that may happen to hold a place at any particular moment in any particular brain, is not the mere opposite end of the stick to Samsara, but entirely away from and beyond that Samsara, and everything pertaining to it. To use the apt illustration current in Burma: Samsara and all belonging thereto without any exception, man's brain consciousness and all its thinkings and imaginings, and all the words and terms in which such thinkings and imaginings can be given expression,—all this is contained together on one plate, thus on a single two-dimensional surface. But Nibbana, the real Nibbana, is not down there at all on the plate, nor, in its real nature any part of it. Nibbana is up in the air, off the plate altogether in another dimension of space, has no point of connection whatever with any portion of the plate. It does not belong to the two-dimensional in any way whatever. That is, as we have just been saying: All thought and speech about Nibbana does not touch the real Nibbana, but only the concept of the same present at the time in the mind of thinker or speaker; and this can never be any otherwise. "Not to be come at by reasoning is this Dhamma," says a Writing. The final pass-word here is and always must be *solvitur ambulando*.

SILĀCĀRA.

THE HISTORY OF CERTAIN BURMESE CHARACTERS.

အက္ခရာဗျည်း ၃၃လုံးနှင့်သရယွှင်လုံးတွင်မပါဝဲး၏-၏-၍- သ်-၌-
၎င်း-တို့ဖြစ်ပေါ်ရေးသားခြင်းအကြောင်း။

၏-၏-ဟူသော၍-ဟူသော သ် ဟူသော၎င်း-ဟူသောမြွှာစာ ၄ လုံးတို့၏။ အကြောင်းအရာကိုမှန်စွာသိကသဝေနောက်ပင်။ ယ-သတ်။ ည-သတ်တို့ ယထောတူဟန်ကို သိနိုင်စွ်သည်။ ။ ။ ။ မြွှာစာလုံး၏ အကြောင်းအရာကို မှန်စွာသိက။ ပြုလစ်တံ့။ ပြုလိုက်တံ့။ စသည်နှိုက်အစ်ကာရန်၊ ဆိုက်ကာရန်သောတူဟန်ကိုသိစွ်သည်။

ယင်းသည့်စကားကိုချဉ်းစွဲ၏-၏-ဟူသောမြွှာစာလုံး၏။ အတ္ထုပ္ပတ္တိမှာ။ ဇ-သရကိုအ-မြစ်၍တနည်း။ ထိုသရကို ယသတ်အ-မြစ်၍တနည်း။ ထိုသရကိုနောက်ပင်။ အ-မြစ်၍တနည်း။ ထိုသရကိုည-သတ်အ-မြစ်၍တနည်း။ လေးနည်းရှိချေ၏။ ထိုတွင်ကိုရေးပြီးလျှင်။ စ

ပုဂ်-၂-ချက်ကိုသတ်၍ ဟူ၍ ရေးသည်မှာ။ ကိုအ-မြစ်ရှိနှင့်ရေးသော၏ဖြစ်သည်။ ယင်းစကားမှန်၏။ ရှေးရှေးက။ အက္ခရာရေးပုံသဏ္ဌာန်မှာ။ ရှေးနောက်အပုဂ် ၂ ချက်ရေး၍။ အလယ်၌။ အလျားလိုက်။ အပုဂ် ၂ ချက်။ ထိခိုက်မှီအောင်။ အရေးအကြောင်းငင်ဟန်နှင့်။ ၁-၁ ဟူ၍

ရေးသည်။ ။ ။ ဟူ၍လည်း မတွန့်။ မလိမ်ရေးသည်။ ထို-၁-၁ ဟူ၍။ ဖတ်ရွတ်ရန်မထုတ်။ ဇ-ကို။ အ-မြစ်မှန်သိအောင်-သတ်၍။ ဟူ၍ ရေးရင်းဖြစ်သည်။ နောက် တရွေးတရွေးအစွန်

ကာလကြာလျှင်။ အလျားလိုက်ငင်သော။ အရေးအကြောင်းကွယ်၍။ ။ ။ ဟူ၍။ အပုဂ် ၂ ချက်ကိုသာသတ်၍ ရေးကြစေသည့်။ ယခု၏-ဟူသောပုဂ်တချက်ကိုသာ။ သတ်တော့သည်။ ဤနည်းကိုဟူ၍။ အချို့စာဆိုဝိသုဒ္ဓိက။ သိဟောခြင်း။ ။ ။ ဟူ၍။ မြစ်စွဲသောအ-ကိုသတ်၍။ ရေးသားသည်ထင်၏။ ဤသို့ကို။ အ-မြစ်နှင့်ရေးသည်ဖြစ်၍။ ရှေး-ဟူ၍။ သဝေ-အမြစ်သံဖတ်ရွတ်ရသည်။

၁-၁-၁ ဟူ၍။ အောက်က မြစ်သော။ ။ ။ နှိုက်။ အလျားလိုက်ငင်ဟန်ကွယ်၍။ ၁-၁-၁ ဟူ၍။ ထူးအပုဂ် ၂ ချက်သာထင်၏။ တဖန်တုံအပုဂ် ၂ ချက်ကိုမိန့်။ ။ ။ လုံးကဲ့သို့ ၁-၁-၁ ရေးပြန်၏။ တဖန်တုံမိန့်။ ။ ။ လုံးကွယ်ပြန်၍။ ယခုသော်-နှင့်-ဖြင့်-ဟူ၍မိန့်တလုံးသာထင်၏။ ထို့ကြောင့်နှိုက်က။ အ-မြစ်သည်ဟူဆို၍။ လက်ကမိန့်တလုံးသာမြစ်ကုန်၏။ ထိုမိန့်သည်။ မိန့်မထုတ်။ အ-သရသာဖြစ်သည်ဟုမှတ်လေ။

ဇ-ကိုရေးပြီးလျှင်။ ယ-သတ်။ အ-မြစ်၍။ ဟူ၍ ရေးလိုလျက်။ ယ-သတ်၏။ ရှေးအပိုကို။ ဇ-လုံးအောက်နားမြှောင်၍။ အောက်က။ အ-မြစ်နှင့်တကွ။ ။ ။ ဟူ၍ ရေးသည်မှာ။ ဇ-ကို။ ယ-သတ်။ အ-မြစ်ရေးသော၏ဖြစ်သည်။ ဇ-တွင်သရခွဲယကိုပင့်သတ်၍ ရေးခြင်းပင်ဖြစ်သည်။ အဟုံဟူ၍။ ယ-သတ်။ အ-မြစ်သံဖတ်ရွတ်ရသည်။

ဇ-ကို။ နောက်ပင်၍။ အောက်က။ အ-မြစ်နှင့်တကွ။ ။ ။ ဟူ၍ ရေးသည်မှာ။ နောက်ပင်။

အ-မြစ်။ ဇွဲ မြစ်သည်။ ယ-သတ်ယေနှင့်အသံတူသဘောတူဖြစ်၍။ အယံဟူ၍ ပင်။ ယ-သတ်။
အ-မြစ်သံဖတ်ရသည်။

ည-သတ်။ ညှိ မှာ။ င-သရကို။ ဖွင့်သံ။ ည-သတ်။ အ-မြစ်နှင့်။ ဧည့်ဟူ၍ ပင်။ ရေးငယ်သည်။
ဖွင့်သံ။ ည-သတ်သံပါအောင်။ အညှိဟုဖတ်ရသည်။

ရညောမင်း၏။ အာဂဏ္ဍကော၏။ သည်။ ဟောတိ။ ဖြစ်၏။ ဤ၌။ ငွေ-ဟူ၍။ သ-ဝ-ဇ-ဖြစ်
သံဖတ်လေ။

ရညောမင်း၏။ အာဂဏ္ဍကော၏။ သည်။ ဟောတိ။ ဖြစ်၏။ ဤ၌။ အ-ယံဟူ၍။ ယ-သတ်
အ-မြစ်သံဖတ်လေ။

ရညောမင်း။ ဇွဲ။ အာဂဏ္ဍကော။ ဇွဲ သည်။ ဟောတိ။ ဖြစ် ဇွဲ။ ဤ၌။ ယသတ်-အ-မြစ်
သံနှင့်အတူ။ နောက်ပစ်-အ-မြစ်သံ-အ-ဟူ၍ ဖတ်လေ။

ရညောမင်းဧည့်အာဂဏ္ဍကောဧည့်သည်။ ဟောတိ။ ဖြစ်ဧည့်။ ဤ၌။ ဖွင့်သံ။ ည-သတ်။ အ-
မြစ်သံ။ အညှိ-ဟူ၍ ဖတ်လေ။

ယခုအခါ၌။ ကိုရေးပြီးလျှင်။ အ-ပုဒ်ကဲ့သို့ပြု၍။ သတ်ခြင်းသည်။ ဇ-ကို။ အ-မြစ်ရံရေး
သော၏ရေးနည်းတည်း။ ကိုရေးပြီးလျှင်။ အောက်သို့တစ်ငင်ကျန်ပြု၍။ အထက်သို့တစ်ပင့်သတ်
လျက်။ အောက်ကအ-မြစ်ပြုခြင်းသည်။ ဇ-ကိုယပင့်သတ်။ အ-မြစ်၏ရေးနည်းတည်း။

နောက်ပစ်ရေးနည်း။ ည-သတ်ရေးနည်းကိုကား။ မထင်ပြီး။ အာဂဏ္ဍ။ ဧည့်သည်နှိုက်ကား။
ည-သတ်။ ဤထင်မှတ်ရာ၏။ သမ္ပန်၏။ ကြိယာ၏။ မှားနှိုက်။ ည-သတ်ဧည့်မထင်ပြီး။ ထိုင်ကြောင့်။
သဝေ၏။ အယောင်။ ယ-သတ်၏။ အယောင်။ လက်ကရေး၍။ ည-သတ်ဧည့်သံချည်း။ နှိုက်ကလွေး
ဆောင်ရာ။ လွယ်လွယ်ကူကူဖတ် ရွတ်ကြကုန်ဧည့်။

ရှေးကြီးကမူကား။ သဝေ၏။ ယ-သတ်၏။) ချက်ကို။ ရေးထုံးဖတ်ထုံး။ အရိုးတန်ပြုဟန်
ထင်သည်။ နောက်မှ။ သွင်မဟာသီလဝံသ။ သွင်မဟာရဋ္ဌသာရ။ သွင်မဟာသမာဓိသော။ မှီဆရာ
ကြီးတို့စာများနှိုက်။ သဝေသံ။ ယ-သတ်သံ။ စပ်အင်းမထားပဲ။ ည-သတ်သံစပ်အင်းသာ။ ထားသည်
ကိုထောက်၍။ ည-သတ်သံချည်းအများနှိုက်တက်၍။ ထိုရှေးကြီးက။ သဝေ-အ-မြစ် ဧ

ယ-သတ်-အ-မြစ် ဧ ယှိ ချုံး၍။ ဖွတ်၍။ ရေးပုံသဏ္ဌာန်ကို ည-သတ်-အ-မြစ် ဧည့်ချုံး၍။ ဖွတ်
၍။ ရေးပုံသဏ္ဌာန်ထု။ ထင်မှတ်မှီလေရာသည်။ ထိုင်ကြောင့်။ သဝေ-အ-မြစ်သံ၏။ ယ-သတ်-အ-
မြစ်သံ-၏။ ကို။ ထက်ကရေး၍။ ည-သတ်-အ-မြစ်သံဧည့်ကို။ နှိုက်ကဖတ်ရွတ်မှီလေရာသည်။ ၏
ဟူသောမြဗ္ဗာစာလုံး၏။ အကြောင်းအရာသည်။ ဤဖော်ပြချက်အတိုင်း။ ၏ကိုခွဲခြားရေးသားပါ
လျှင်။ အသံကွဲအောင်ဖတ်ရွတ်ဆိုကို။ အတော်လေ့ကျက်ရလိမ့်ဦးမည်ဖြစ်ချေသည်။

ဤ-ဟူသောမြဗ္ဗာစာလုံး၏။ အကြောင်းအရာအတ္ထုပ္ပတ္တိမှာ။ ရှေးကြီးက။ လူဟောင်းတို့သည်
ကား။ ကတ္တာပြုရသံ။ ဝတ္တာဆိုရသံ။ ဟူ။ ရ-ကြီးဝဆွဲ။ ယ-ငယ်သတ်။ အ-မြစ်သံနှင့်။ ဖတ်ထုံးရွတ်
ထုံး။ အရိုးပြုဟန်ထင်သည်။ ရေးထုံးရေးရိုးအက္ခရာ သဏ္ဌာန်မှာကား။ ထိုရွယ်၌။ ဝဆွဲကို။ တ-
ချောင်းကိုပြု၍။ ရှယ်-ဟူ၍။ ရေးလိုရင်းထင်သည်။ ကျောက်စာတို့နှိုက်လည်း။ ပြုရယ်ဆိုရယ်
ဟူ။ တချောင်းကို။ ယ-သတ်အမြစ်နှင့်ထင်သည်။ ရွတ်ခနည်း။ ရုတ်ခနည်း။ တသွန်တည်း။ တသွန်
တည်း။ စသည်။ ဝ-ဆွဲတချောင်းကို။ ကာရိကာရိယထင်၏။ တဖန်ချုံး၍။ ဖွတ်၍။ ရေးလိုရကား။ ရ-
နှင့်-ယသတ်ကိုခြား၍။ မရေးပဲ။ ယ-သတ်ကို။ ရှုနှိုက်ပင့်၍။ ပြု ဟူ၍။ ရေးပြန်သည်။ ရ-၏။ တ-

ချောင်းကိုင်နှင့်။ ယ-၏ ရွှေအဖွဲ့ကို တလျှောက်တသွန်တည်းရေး၍။ နောက်အဖွဲ့ကိုလည်း။ မရပ်မဆိုင်း။ တသွန်တဟုန်တည်း။ အထက်သို့။ ပင့်မြှောက်၍ ကြွ၍။ ဖွတ်၍။ တအောင်တည်း။ တဆုတ်တည်းရေး၍ သတ်သည်။

ဤသို့-ယ-သတ်ကို။ ချုံး၍။ ဖွတ်၍။ ရေးသားသော။ ပြု ဖြစ်လေရကား။ ကစွာ။ ပြုစုသို့။ ဝတ္ထု။ ဆိုစွသို့။ ယ-သတ်-အ-ဖြစ်သံ။ ဖတ်ရွတ်သင့်၏။ ယင်းသို့သော်လည်း။ ပြုဆရာကြီးတို့၏။ စပ်အင်းနှင့်အညီသာ။ ပြုရွှေဆိုရွှေဟုသတော။ အ-ဖြစ်သံဖတ်ရွတ်လေရာ၏။ ဤ-၍-၌လည်း။ ၏။ ကဲ့သို့ပင်။ သေဝ-ယ-သတ်။ နောက်ပစ်။ ည-သတ်။ အ-ဖြစ်သံနှင့်။ ဖတ်နည်းရေးနည်း။ ၄-ခုတ်ပင်ရကောင်း၏။ ယခုအခါ နှိုက်ကား။ ရမြီးထိုထိုကိုရေးပြီးလျှင်။ ယပင့်မည်အဟန့်။ အထက်ကစထက်၍။ အောက်သို့ငင်ခဲ့၍။ ရွှေသို့တအောင်တည်း။ ခွေပတ်လျက်ရမြီးထိုခေါင်း။ တချောင်းကိုင်ရာသို့။ ထိရောက်စောင်းဆုံးငင်ကျွန်ကျန်သာပြုပြီးမှ။ တစန်လည်းကောင်း။ ထိုယပင့်မည်အဟန့်နှင့်။ ရှေးဦးစရာသို့သွား၍။ တမ်းခွန်အသတ်ပြသောရေးပုံ။ စာလုံးသဏ္ဌာန်သည်။ ရကြီးတချောင်းကိုင်။ ယပင့်-အ-ဖြစ်နှင့်။ ပျံ ကို။ ချုံးဖွတ်သော။ ပြု-၍-ဟူသောစာလုံးပုံပင် ဖြစ်သောတော့သည်ဟုယူရန်ရှိချေသည်။

သို့ -ဟူသောစာလုံးမှာ။ ရှေးကြီးက။ မြိမ္မာလူဟောင်းတို့သည်။ ဇဟံ။ ငါသယ်။ ဂန္ထာမိ။ သွားဇယံ။ ဟူ၍။ ယ-သတ်နှင့်တည်း။ ရေးရိုးဖတ်ရိုးပြုကြသည်အဟန့်ထင်၏။ ထိုတွင်။ ငါသယ်၌။ သယ်ကိုချုံးလို၍။ ယ-သတ်ကိုအောက်ကစ၍။ ရွှေအဖွဲ့။ နောက်အဖွဲ့။ အသတ်တမ်းခွန်တို့ကို။ တသွန်တလျှောက်တည်းပင်။ မြှောက်၍တင်သတ်ငင်၍ရေးသားသောနည်းဖြင့်။ ငါသျှ ဟုရေးလေရာသည်။ တရွှေရွှေစွန့်ရှည်လတ်သော်။ အောက်နှိုက်။ အစရှိသော။ အရေးကိုတသုတ်။ အထက်၌အဆို။ တမ်းခွန်သတ်သည်ကို။ တသုတ်။ ပင့်မြှောက်၍ ကြွသောအလယ်။ အရေးကိုဈောက်၍။ ငါသျှ ဟု။ ရေးလေရာသည်။ ယခုအခါ နှိုက်သော်။ သ-အောက်ကစ၍။ ရေးသောဟ၏။ ရွှေအဖွဲ့အတွက်။ အရေးအကြောင်းကို။ နောက်ထက်ယာတက်သို့မငင်။ ရွှေသက်ဝဲတက်သို့ ထာငင်ထက်၍။ ငါသျှ ဟုရေးကြ၏။ သာကရာဇ် တထောင်မပြည့်မီ။ ကိုးရာ။ ယှစ်ရာဆီက။ စာဆိုဝိဇ္ဇာမင်းတို့၌ကား နောက်ထက်ယာတက်သို့သာငင်၍။ ငါသျှ ဟုရေးကြ၏။ မိဂပဒဝဏ္ဏန-နည်းဖြစ်ရကား။ အထက်မှာစသတ်တမ်းခွန်သို့။ ရှေးစူတူပြုလေဟန်လိုရကား။ နောက်ထက်ရာတက်သို့။ ဆွဲငင်ခြင်းသည်ယုတ္တိတုံသို့ထင်၏။ ယခုအခြေလို၍ရေးလျှင် သို့ သို့ ဟုရေးခြင်း များကြသည်။ ဤနှိုက်လည်း။ ယ-သတ်။ သယ်-ကိုရေး၍။ ည-သတ်သံကိုဖတ်ရွတ်နုတ်တက်ကြကုန်သည်။

၎င်း-ဟူသောစာလုံးမှာ။ ရှေးကြီးက။ မြိမ္မာလူဟောင်းတို့သည်။ ဗုဒ္ဓဉ္စ၊ ဝုဇ္ဇာကိုလေးကောင်း။ ဓမ္မဉ္စ။ ဤ။ ကိုလေးကောင်း။ သံစဉ္စ။ သံခါကိုလေးကောင်း။ ဟူ၍။ ည-သတ်နှင့်အသံကွဲသတောတူ။ သေဝနှင့်တည်း။ ဖတ်ထုံး ရေးထုံး ပြုကြမည် အဟန့် ထင်၏။ တစန်တုံလျှင်း ထို လေးကောင်းနှိုက်။ အသံတူ ၄-ဂဏန်းကိုသွင်း၍။ ၄-ကောင်းဟု ရေးဖတ်ကြသည်။ တစန်တုံလျှင်းက-အက္ခရာကိုဈောက်၍။ ၄-ငင်းဟုရေးဖတ်ကြပြန်သည်။ တစန်တုံလျှင်းသေဝကိုဈောက်၍။ ၄-ငင်းဟုရေးဖတ်ကြကုန်သည်။ တစန်တုံလျှင်းင-သတ်ကို။ ၄-ဂဏန်းပေါ်သို့တတ်စေ၍။ ငါး-ဟုရေးသားမကျယ်။ ပြီးစလွယ်ရေးကြသည်အဟန့်ဖြစ်ချေသည်။ ယခုရေးသားကြသော။ ၄-ငင်းသည်။ ၄-ဂ

ဏန်းနှင့် တဆိတ်မျှမတူချေ။ င-ကိုတချောင်းကိုင် အထိုပြုလုပ်ထားသည်နှင့် တူချေသည်။ လေး
ကောင်း။ လေးငင်း။ ၄-ကောင်း။ ၄ ငင်း။ ၄င်း။ ငိုး။ တစတစအကုဉ်းပြုလုပ်ရေးသားကြလေသည်။

၌-ဟူသောစာလုံးမှာ။ ရှေးလွန်လေပြီးသော။ လူကြီးသျှင်ကြီးတို့သည်။ သာဝတ္ထိယံ။ သာရ
ဝတ်ပြည်နှစ်။ ဇေတဝနေ။ ဇေတဝန်ကျောင်းတော်နှစ်။ ဟူ၍-အာဓာရအနက်ကိုးတင်ငင်းက-သတ်
သံနှင့်။ နှိုက်ဟူ၍ မဆိုဝံ့။ စ-သတ်သံနှင့်သာ။ နှစ်ဟူ၍။ ဆိုအံ့ထင်သည်။ ယင်းသို့လျှင်နှစ်ဟူ၍
ရည်အဆိုအမိန့်များရကား။ အသံတူရွေးဂဏန်းနှင့်သာရဝတ်ပြည်၌၊ ဇေတဝန်ကျောင်း၌၊ ဟူ
၍ ရေးကြအံ့ထင်သည်။ ရှေးကနှစ်ဂဏန်းသဏ္ဌာန်ပင်ဖြစ်သည်။ အသတ်တမ်းခွန်ပါသည်မှာ။ အ
မြဲ၌။ အရွာ၌။ အနက်၌။ အမင်း၌။ စသည် ၌ နှစ်ကြိမ်စွတ်ရန်အဖို့ထည့်ဝိသ္ဗာဒအနက်ပြု။ ၌-ဂဏန်း
မှ။ ထူးစိမ့်သောငှါ။ အာဓာရအနက်ပြု-၌-ဂဏန်းပေါ် ၌အသတ်တမ်းခွန်တင်ထန်ဖြစ်သတည်း။

တနည်းကား။ ထိုအာဓာရအနက်ပြု။ ၌-ဂဏန်းသည်တစ္ဆေ။ အခွန်ကာလဝေးလတ်
သော်။ ၌-ဂဏန်းယုမထင်မှီဝဲ။ စသတ်ကိုဖွက်၍ ရေးသောန-ငယ် ဟထိုး-နှ-သာဖြစ်လေအံ့ထင်
မှတ်မှီ၍။ ရှေးက-န-ငယ်သဏ္ဌာန်အထူးထူးတို့တွင်။ ၄က်နှုတ်သီးစွန်း။ နှုန်းနှုန်းငေါငေါထွက်သည်
နှင့်တူသော။ ၂ -ရှိ။ လူမင်း။ ၄၂ ရှိ။ မိန်းမ။ ဤသိုဝ်းနှုတ်သီးဖျားရှည်လံလွန်းသော ၂ -ငယ်

မျိုးကို။ ရေးစမှတ်မူသော။ ရှေးသူတောင်းတယောက်သည်။ ၂ -ငယ် ဟထိုး ဖြစ်လျက် ကိုပင်။
တယ်စာမူ၍။ နှုတ်သီးဖျားကိုမတတ်သနည်းဟု။ ထို-၌ဂဏန်းပေါ်မှာ။ နှုတ်သီးဖျားစွန်း။ နှုန်းနှုန်း
ငေါငေါ။ တတ်မှီတွယ်တွယ်ထင်သည်။ ယင်းသို့နှုတ်သီးဖျားအစွန်းနှုန်းနှုန်းငေါငေါကိုပင်။ ပဋိမ-
ဇနတို့က။ ဤလျှင်အသတ်တမ်းခွန်တရံ့ဟု ထင်မှီတွယ်ယှိလေသည်။ ရှေးကြီးက ရေးသောတစ်
ဂဏန်းအပုဒ်သဏ္ဌာန်သည်။ ဒ-ရွေးနှင့်တူ၏။ နှစ်ဂဏန်းသဏ္ဌာန်မှာ။ တစ်ဂဏန်းသဏ္ဌာန်စ၍။ ရှေ့
လက်ဝဲတက်သို့ဆွဲငင်ခဲ့၍။ အထက်သို့အတန်ငယ်ခွေပတ်၍ ရေးသည်။ အချို့ စာဆိုစာမင်းတို့မှာ။
အမြဲမြဲ။ အရွာမြဲ။ အမင်းမြဲ။ အနက်မြဲ။ ယဝိသ္ဗာဒအနက်ပြုရွေးဂဏန်းကို။ ဒရွေးကိုရစ်သကယ်။ သိုဝ်း
ရေးသည်။ ကျောက်စာများတို့၌ကား။ ဒရွေးကို။ ဟထိုးဟန်၌။ ဟူ၍။ ပြစ်။ ယခုအခါနှုတ်ရေးကြ
သော။ အာဓာရအနက်နှိုက်တွင်။ တမ်းခွန်ကိုပစ်၍ ကျန်ရစ်သော သဏ္ဌာန်သည်ကား။ ရှေးပေစာ
ဆိုတို့နှုတ်ရေးသောနှစ်ဂဏန်းနှင့်တူသည်များလှစွာ၏။

ထိုမြို့တိုင်းစတုမဟာရာဇ်ကို။ စတုမဟာရိုက်ဆိုသည်။ အဓိကရသော သစ်ပင်ကြီးထဲက။ ရ
မှတ်မူသောသစ်ကျမ်းသစ်စာကို။ သိုက်ကျမ်းသိုက်စာဆိုသည်ကဲ့သို့မှတ်အပ်၏။

ရကျွင်ရာဇဝင်ဆိုကြီးနှိုက်။ ငါတို့၏ မိရစ်ဇရာဖြစ်သော။ ရကျွင်ရာပြည်တော်ဝယ်ဟူ၍။
လာ၏။ ဤနှိုက်မိရိုက်ဇရာကိုပင်။ မိရစ်ဇရာဆိုသည်။ သေသအနက်။ ဌာနအနက်ကို။ အရပ်အရာဆို
သည်။ ပ-သတ်ကိုစသတ်ပြု၍။ အရစ်အရာဆိုသည်။ ရစ်ကို။ ရိုက်ပြုပြန်၍။ အရိုက်အရာဆိုသည်။
အချို့ကား။ ရစ်ကိုရိုက်ပြု၍။ အရိုက်အရာဆိုကုန်၏။

သျှင်ဥတ္တမကျော်နေဘူးသော။ ပုဂံတက်နွယ်ကျောင်းကျောက်စာကြီးနှိုက်။ ပါဌပါစစ်။
အဋ္ဌကထာစစ်။ ဟူ၍ ပါမိတ်ကိုပင်ပါစစ်။ ကျောက်အက္ခရာစင်ရေးချေ၏။ မတ်မလိမ္မာပုဒ်ပါဌ
ကိုမြင်သော။ နှုတ်လျှာမပီပြင်သော။ ပုရိသပသုတို့သာ ရေးဖတ်လေ့ပြုသည်ဟုမှတ်အံ့စိုး၍။ ပုရိသ
ကေသရီတို့အရေးအစတ်ကိုထုတ်လိုက်သည်။

မင်းကတိသူကျောက်စာ။ အမနာကျောက်စာ။ မလုံးမြစ်ကျောက်စာ။ မင်းပိုင်းကျောက်စာ။
မင်နန်သူ ၄ ခုကံနှာဘုရား ကျောက်စာ။ မင်းသွီး အစောင်ကြမ်း ကျောက်စာ။ ဓမ္မရုံကြီးနားကုန်
ဘုရားကျောက်စာ။ တန်ဆောင်းမိဘုရားခေါင်ကျောက်စာ။ စသည်တို့နှိုက်။ ဝေရကို။ အ-မြစ်၍။
ထိုမြစ်သော။ အ-မှာအသတ်တံခွန်ပြု၍ ရေး၏။ ရေးဟန်ကား။

၉၉၉ ဤကားသေရ ၃ လုံးရေးပုံ။

၉၉၉ ဤကားသေရကိုအ-မြစ်သော ၃ လုံးရေးပုံ။

ထန်ဇာပညာကျောက်စာ။ စောင်လဝန်ဘုရားကျောက်စာ။ သစ်မထီးဆုတောင်းပြည့်ဘုရားကျောက်စာ။ ဓမ္မရာဇာကြီးစာ။ ကွမ်းတောင်ဘုရားကျောက်စာ။ ဣန္ဒပဏ္ဍိတကျောက်စာ။ မင်းသတ်တော်ရှည်ကျောက်စာ။ မင်းစည်သူကျောက်စာ။ တောင်တွင်းမင်းကျောက်စာ။ ဣန္ဒသီရိမင်းသိန်းကျောက်စာ။ စသည်တို့ရှိကား။ သေရကို။ ယ-ငယ်သတ်၍။ ထိုသတ်သောငယ်မှလည်း။ ရှေ့အဖို့ကိုလုံးကွယ်၍။ နောက်အဖို့သတ်ယဉ်တန်ရေး၏။

တနည်း။ သေရအထက်ပိုင်းကို။ ယပင့်လေတန်နှင့်ရေး၏။ ရေးတန်ကား။

၉၉၉ ဤကားသေရ ၃ လုံးရေးပုံ။

၉၉၉ ဤကားသေရကိုယ-ငယ်သတ်သော ၃ လုံးရေးပုံ။

ရှေးကျောက်စာတို့ရှိကား။ အသတ်ကိုခွါ၍။ ငင်သည်။ ရှေ့ထိုးကိုထိ၍။ ငင်သည်။ ငင်ပုံရှင်းလည်းမတူ။ နောက်ပစ်ကင်းစီးများလည်းယခုနှင့်မတူ။ မတူတန်ကားအီသို့တည်း။

အင်းဝပြည်တော်အကျော်သမ္မာတော်မေဓကရလစာ၌
သင်္ဂြိုဟ်နိဿရ ကိုဝ်းတွဲ မုဒုန်သောဝါ။

အပေါ်ကကင်းစီးများနောက်သို့ခပ်ယိုင်ယိုင်ငင်ခဲ့ပြီးမှ။ ရှေ့သို့ငင်ပြန်၍။ လွန်၍။ သတ်ကွန်ပြုသည်။ ရှေးဦးစ၍။ ငင်သည်ကလွန်သည်တိုင်အောင်။ င-ကိုရေးခြင်းပင်ဖြစ်သည်။ အကွရုဇာ။ အရေးသဏ္ဌာန်ကွဲသကဲ့သို့မှတ်။ နောက်ပစ်ကိုလုံးကြီးတင်ရှေ့ပိုင်းပျက်သည်နှင့်တူစွာရေးသည်။ ရှေ့ထိုးရှိကားနောက်သို့အတန်ဆုတ်ခဲ့၍။ ရှေ့သို့တဖန်မျှင်းလည်ပင်းကောက်တန်ထိုးသည်။ အီသို့လေခါသဏ္ဌာနဝေမတ္တအထူးကိုသိအပ်၏။ ဟူလိုသော။

သာကရာဇ်။ ကိုးရာတထောင် မပြည့်ခင်။ ခြောက်ရာခုနစ်ရာ-ယှစ်ရာဆီက။ ရေးထုခဲ့သောကျောက်စာ။ မင်စာပေစာဟောင်းတို့သဘောတူဟာတည်း။

ယ-ငယ်ရှေ့ပိုင်းကို။ ထုံးအောက်သို့ငင်ကွန်ပြု၍။ နောက်ပိုင်းကိုပင့်သတ်သတ်သော၏။ ရေးပုံကား။ ကျောက်စာဟောင်းတို့ရှိမထင်။ ပေစာဟောင်းစသည်ရှိကားသာထင်သည်။

အချို့ပေစာဟောင်းတို့ရှိကား။ ထောက်မြစ်၍။ အချို့ပေစာဟောင်းတို့ရှိကား။ ထောက်မြစ်

ဉာဏ်-အသိအသိအသိမှာအသိရသိလုံးချည်းတင်ဆန်ခတ်သံ။ ဂွဉ်သံဇာတ်ရချေသည်။

ပုည။ ပညာ။ သာမည။ ပဋိညာဉ်။ အဘိညာဉ်။ သမ္မတည။ စသည်ဖြင့်။ ရွေးတော်သံထုတ်ပါမ
ပါဟူသော။ သဘောသဘာဝကိုလိုက်နာဆင်ခြင်ရန်ရှိသည်။

ဝမ်းဘေးအင်းစံမင်းလက်ထက်တော်က။ ချီကြောင်းပေစာဈားတွင်။ ယခုစော်ပြသော။ ဉာ

ကြီး။ ဉာ-ငယ်ခွဲခြားရေးသားသည်ဈားကိုတွေ့ဘူးသည်။
ယခုရေးသားကြသော။ ဉာ-ကြီး။ ဉာ-ငယ်မှာ။ ရိုးတော်ဈားနှိုက်အစိုးရ စမှုတော်ထမ်း။ ထို
လက်ရေးသောနှင့်။ စာပုံနှိပ်တိုက်ထိုးက။ ထွက်ပေါ်သောသောအက္ခရာဖြစ်ကြောင်းကိုမှတ်တူရန်ရှိ
ချေသည်။

ထက်လားဆရာတော်ဘုရား စီရင်တော်မူသောပါဠိ ဟိတောပဒေသကျမ်းတွင်။ လက္ခဏာပြ
သည်မှာ ဉာ-အဓိကယ်သိုဝ်းအသတ်နှင့် သေးတင်နိဂ္ဂဟိတ်ပါလျှင်။ ဉာ-ကလေးမှတ်ရမည်။ ဇာတ်
သောအခါ။ င-သတ်အသိဇာတ်ရမည်။ ဉာ-အိက္ခာသောတင်နိဂ္ဂဟိတ်ပါလျှင်။ ဉာကြီးသံဇာတ်ရမည်
ဟုဆုံးဖြတ်တော်မူချေသည်။

သာကရာဇ်-၁၂၁၈-ခုနှစ်အောက်။ ရေးသားကြသော ပေစာစာမျှတို့တွင်။ ဉာ-အိက္ခာသော-ဉာ
တရားသာလျှင်အသုံးပြုကြလေသည်။

ရှေးကြီးက-ရေးထုထားသောကမ္ဘာဉာဏ်စာသင်တော်ကို။ လိုက်လျောခြင်းမပြုချေဖြစ်
သည်။

ထို့ပြင်-ရှိ-ယျိ-အရေးအသား-၂-မျိုးယှဉ်သည်ကို။ ကွဲပြားခြားနားစွာဖြင့်။ ရှိ-ထုရဏဘက်
ရ-ကြီးတလုံးကိုသာအခိုင်အမာစွဲလမ်းပြီးလျှင်။ စာရေးသန်ကြလေသည်။

ရှေးကသင်ပုန်းကြီးစာကိုသင်ကြားသည့်အခါ။ ယ-ငယ်သံရ-ကြီးသံကို ကွဲပြားစွာ-ဇာတ်
ရွတ်ဆိုကြရသောကြောင့်။ စာရေးအသားအခေါ်ဝေါ်ထားရမှာလည်း။ ယ-ငယ်ရ-ကြီးကွဲပြားစွာ
ရေးသားနိုင်လေသည်။ အိက္ခာသော-ယ-ငယ်။ ရ-ကြီးကွဲပြားအောင်ဇာတ်နိုင်သည်မှာ။ တလိုင်းထူရှို
နှင့်။ ရခိုင်ထူရှိုများမှာသာကွဲပြားသန့်ယှဉ်လျက်ရှိချေသည်။

မြွေကွဲမှာ။ ယ-ငယ်ရ-ကြီး။ ကွဲပြားအောင်ဇာတ် မရွတ်နိုင်သောကြောင့်။ ယ-ငယ်သံ
တခုတည်းသာခေါ်ဝေါ်ကြသဖြင့်။ ရ-ကြီးကိုအရာထိုင်းမှာပင်အသုံးမပြုလေသည်။

ကြီး-ကိုးတလိုင်းက။ ကရို-ထိုဇာတ်သည်။

ထမ်းကြောင်းကိုရခိုင်က။ ထမ်းကရောင်းထိုဇာတ်သည်။ မြွေကွဲမှာထိုလိုကွဲပြားအောင်မ
ဇာတ်ခြင်းကြောင့်။ ယ-ငယ်ရ-ကြီးမကွဲပြားဖြစ်ချေသည်။

ရှေးစာဟောင်းဈားမှာ။ ရှိမိုးသည်။ ပုံပူဇော်သည်။ အမိန့်တော်ရှိသည့်-ဟူသော အရာဈား
မှာ။ ရ-ကြီးကိုအသုံးမစွဲပြုသည်ကိုတွေ့ရသည်။

အိက္ခာပာစာအလိုရှိသည်။ ယှဉ်သည်။ မယှဉ်ဘူး။ ယှဉ်ယှားပင်။ သို့သော်ပင်ဟူ၍။ ရှေးစာဟောင်း
ဈားအထွန်အခင်းသုံးစွဲကြလေသည်။

ပြည်မြို့။ ရွာဆံတော်ဘုရားကုန်းတော်။ စနေထောင့်တွင်ဆွဲထားသော ခေါင်းထောင်းတလုံး
မှာ။ အင်းဝမြို့-လောကသရဇာ ဘုရား၏ယကာ-ကုသိုလ် တော်ထု အမှတ်ပြုမိသည်။ ၎င်းခေါင်း
ထောင်းစာနှိုက်။ (သျှောင်သည်။ သျှားသည်။ သျှိုးသည်။ သျှိုသည်။ သျှိုင်းသည်။ သျှပ်သည်-ဟူ
၍)။ သ-ယပင့်-တထိုးနှင့်ချည်းကမ္ဘာဉာဏ်စာတွင်ထားလျက်ရှိသည်။

သျှင်မတော်သီလဝံသဆရာတော်စပ်ဆိုတော်မူသောဆုတောင်းခန်းတွင်။ (ပမာမမူ။ စနေ
မြို့။ မယှဉ်ဝန်တိုးမကုတ်သျှိုတည်း)။ (ရှက်ရှင်အမြတ်ပြည်ထိုက်အလေးဆန်မှည့်ပေးသျှို)။
တပြေးငါနှိုက်သတည်း)။ (တောင်ထုံးမဟိုးခြင်းမိရိယံသျှို။ ရွာတံစွင့်စွင့်)။ (ပစ္စည်းပထမ)

ဘောင်ယှိခံသည်။ အကြံမချ။ (မိုးလေမထိ။ ဟိုလည်းမမိုး။ စည်းကျောက်ညိုသို့။ မမိုးမရွာ။ ရံဒီးတားနှင့်။ ဤသို့ပြောသည်။ ပါဠိပါဠိ။ အပြင်ညီသား။)

ပါရမီခန်းတွင်။ (အနုတဒ္ဒါ။ ခြုံငုံသည်။ မိုးထိဆုံးအောင်။) (စေ့နာတောင်ရှိ။ ကိုယ်နှိုက်သည်။ သတ်ခိုင်းကျည်။) (ခိုင်းကျည်သတ်။ မြေနှင့်ရှိလျက်။ ယိုစေလေသွေး။) စပ်တော်မူသည်။

သုဝဏ္ဏသျှင်သန္တာခန်းတွင်။ စက်သွားအတိ။ ရံသည်ယိုလည်း။ ဆံရှိမလန့်။

မဃိဗိုးခန်းတွင်။ စိုးစည်ဆံရှိ။ ငြိမ်မယိုတည်း။ ထိထိပါးပါး။

ငရဲခန်းတွင်။ နှစ်ပါးခိုင်းထောက်မယိုတည်း။

ဘုန်းခန်းတွင်။ တလောင်မှတ်စိ။ ထိုဘုန်းယိုကို။ ရှိလည်းမမိုး။ ဟူ၍။ သွင်အဂ္ဂသမာဓိ-သုမြတ်စပ်တော်မူသည်။

ထိုစော်ပြသော-ရှိ-ယှိ။ ၂-မျိုးခွဲခြားလျက်။ မုံရွေးဆရာတော်။ ဇီးပနီဆရာတော်။ မနိလည်ဆရာတော်ဘုရားများ။ စပ်ဆိုတော်မူသော။ ဤလင်္ကာများတွင်လည်း။ ထင်ယွားလျက်ယှိချေသည်။

ထို့ပြင်နောက်ပစ်နှိုက်။ ၀ဇ္ဇိ-၂-လုံးထည့်၍။ ရေးသားသည်မှာ။ သတ်ပုံမကျမ်းတွင်။ ယ-သတ်။ နောက်ပစ်။ ၂-ချက်သင့်ပြလျက်ယှိ၍။ ယ-သတ်နှင့်နောက်ပစ်အသံတူထားခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။

ဥပမာ။ ကဲယိ။ ကဲယံ။ ကဲယိ။

ဇတ်သံ။ ကကြီးရေ-နောင်ပစ်ကဲယိ။ အောက်က-အ-မြစ်-ကဲယိ။ ရွှေကဝဇ္ဇိ-၂-လုံးပေါက်ကဲယိ။

ယခုအခါပုံနှိပ်စာနှင့်။ ရေးသားကြသောစာများမှာ။ ၀ဇ္ဇိ-၂-လုံးမပါဘဲ။ ကဲ-ကယ်-ကို။ ကဲ-ဟုဘခါတည်း။ ကြီး၍။ လုံး၍။ ရေးဇတ်ကြရသောကြောင့်။ ပြင်၍။ ရနိုင်မည်မထင်။

ယောင်ကြည်ဇတ်ကို။ ရှေးစာဟောင်းများတွင်။ ယောင်ကြည်ဖဲ ဟု ရေးသားသည်။ တွန်းဖဲသည်။ အတယ်ကြောင့်။ အဘဲကြောင့်။ အဘယ့်ကြောင့်။ အဘွဲကြောင့် ရေးသားကြလေသည်ကို ထောက်သဖြင့်ထင်ယွားလေသည်။

ထို့ပြင်-ဌ-ဌ ဝမ်းဝဲခေါ်သည်။ ဤလက္ခဏာသည်။ ခေါင်းအောက်တွင်-မျက်ခံထားသည်ကား။ ဋ-သန်လျှင်းမျက်ဖြစ်သည်။ ၎င်း-ဌ-အက္ခရာသည်။ သံယုတ်ပါသောကြောင့်။ (ဗိဋ္ဌ)-ဤလိုရေးလျှင်။ ဗိဋ္ဌ-ဌ-ဟုဇတ်ရသည်။ ဗိဋ္ဌန္တ။ ဗိဋ္ဌိ။ ဖုဋ္ဌ။ ဖုဋ္ဌ။ အဋ္ဌ။ ပြဋ္ဌာန်း။ စသည်စာရေးအသားနှိုက်။ သံယုတ်လက္ခဏာပါသည်ဟုအချို့သတ်မမှန်ကြပဲ။ ဌ-ဤကဲ့သို့-ဌ-ဝမ်းဝဲချည်းသက်သက်ရေးသားရမည် အရာရှိ၏။ သံယုတ်ပါသော-ဌ-ဝမ်းဝဲကို ရေးကြလေသည်။ နောက်စာပုံနှိပ်

ထိုက်ဆရာထိုက်။ သံယုတ်ပါသည်ကိုထင်ယွားသိစေခြင်းငှါ။ ၂-ဤကဲ့သို့အက္ခရာမျိုးကိုထုတ်ဖော်ပြကြလေသည်။ ရှေးစာဟောင်းများမှာ- ၂-ဤကဲ့သို့ အက္ခရာကို၎င်း။ ၂-ဤကဲ့သို့အက္ခရာကို၎င်း။ ရေးကြလေသည်။

၃- ဆန္ဒန္တ ဗိဋ္ဌာ ၁၂၁ ဇတ်လျှင်။ ဆန္ဒန္တဗိဋ္ဌာ-ဟုဇတ်ရသည်။

ထို့ပြင်-၃၃ ဗိဋ္ဌိကို။ ရှေးစာထိုက်၏။ ၃၃-ဟုတမျိုး။ ၃ ဇိ-ဟုတမျိုး။ ၃၃-ဟုတမျိုး။ ၃၃-ဟုတမျိုး။ ရေးသားလျက်ယှိလေသည်။ ဤကဲ့သို့ရေးသားခြင်းတမျိုး။ ၃၃-ဟုတမျိုး။ ၃၃-ဟုတမျိုး။ ရေးသားလျက်ယှိလေသည်။ ဤကဲ့သို့ရေးသားခြင်း

မှာ။ သု-ရင်ကောက်နှင့်။ စ-ရေမှတ်။ သံယုတ်ရွေးတော်ဆင့်သောလက္ခဏာဖြစ်လေသည်။ ယခုစာပုံ
နှိပ်ထိုက်ဆရာတို့က။ ၂၂ - ဤကဲ့သို့။ စ-ရေမှတ်။ မိုက်ထဲတွင်-သု-ရင်ကောက်အက္ခရာထင်ယွား
စွာဖော်ပြပေးလေသည်။

ထို့ပြင်-ဂုဠိဥ-ကို။ ရှေးစာဟောင်းတို့ရှိကဲ့။ ဂု ခြံ - ယု။ ဥ - ကြီးရွေးတော်ဖြစ်ကြောင်းကို။
အခြား-၂-စဖော်လျက်ပြလေသည်။ ဤကဲ့သို့ ဥ-ကြီးရှိကဲ့ အခြား-၂-စဖော်ပြသည်ကို။ စာကူး
သောစာရေးတို့က-သတ်အမှတ်နည်းသဖြင့်။ ခြံ - ကြီးရှိကဲ့။ အခြား ၂ - စဖော်ပြသည်ကို။ ရှေးကရေး
သားသောသူတို့သည်။ တစ-ကိုလက်လွန်၍ ရေးမိသည်ထင်သောကြောင့်။ မိမိရေးကူးသောစာရှိကဲ့။
အခြားတစကိုဖျောက်လျက်။ ဂုဠိဥ-ယုရေးကူးထားလေသည်။ ဤကဲ့သို့ ရေးကူးထားသော်လည်း။
နောက်ဆရာတို့က။ ဂုဠိဥ-ယုသံယုတ်သံပါအောင်ဇာတ်တော်မူကြသောကြောင့်။ အရေးရှိကဲ့။
သံယုတ်-လွတ်ကင်းသော်လည်း။ အဇာတ်ရှိကဲ့။ သံယုတ်ပါပြီးဖြစ်ချေသည်။ ထင်သည်-ဥ-ကြီးသံ
ယုတ်ရွေးတော်ကို။ ဝံ့နှိပ်ထိုက်ဆရာတို့က။ ထင်ရှားအောင်ထုတ်ဖော်မပြသေးဖြစ်ချေသည်။

ဆင်ဖြူရှင်မင်းဘုရားထိုးမှတ်သောရွှေတိကံ့ဘုရား
ကမ္ဘည်းကျောက်စာအက္ခရာပုံ။

၁၂၃ ဧဆာငဝ်ယံ ဘုင် ဘင်တု လွတ်၊ ဣပတ်
သး မသတ် မရွယ် မသတ္တယံ ဣဒိဝပြဇ္ဈိ ခီချမ်
ပါဠိ ကိတ်စံမြို့ ဥး မ္ဗ၊။
ဗြဟ္မိဂ္ဂါ သး ဗြဟ္မိ မယုင်ဗေ ခိ သုမ္ဘန္တ အဓိမ္မာ
ကတင်တင်ဇေယျ ပြင်ပူက၊။
ပဋိသမ္ဘိနိ ပြုပါဠိ ဗြဟ္မိ ငသင်္ခင်း တဒါ မင်၊
ဘုရှါ သဗ္ဗ၊။

ဇာတ်သောအခါ။ ။ နန်း-၃-ဆောင်ဝယ်၊ ဘုန်းရောင်တုလွတ်၊-၄ ကျွန်းပတ်သား၊ မန္တဝတ်မဏ္ဍယ်။
မသတ္တယံလျှင်။ ၃၀-ပြည့်နိုး။ ရှမ်းသာကြီးကို။ ခံပြီးပြီးမှ။ ။ ဤသို့ထားသား။
ဗြဟ္မိမယုန်း၊ မောမိနန်းမှ။ ရှေ့မြောက်တင်တင်၊ သေနိပြင်ရှိကဲ့။ ။ ပဋိသမ္ဘိနိ။
မိစ္ဆာနိပြည်ကြီး။ သေဌတရား။ မင်းဘုရားသည်။ ။ ယုဇာတ်ရပါသည်။

လမ္မာဘိလူသုန္ဒီ ဗုဒ္ဓိ။ ဗုဒ္ဓိကမ္မေယဟ လမ္မာဘိ
အယံဟံ ဘိဒ္ဓကောကဿိ ပဉ္စဗုဒ္ဓဝိဒ္ဓါရိဇ္ဇော
ဝိပဿိတတ္ထဝတ္ထာနောသံ ဗုဒ္ဓာနိပုနုတ္တမာတေသုဂေါ
တမဗုဒ္ဓဿ။

ဇတ်သော်။ «ဓမ္မရာဇာသုဒ္ဓိဗုဒ္ဓိ။ ဗုဒ္ဓိနုမေသဟဓမ္မသမ္ဘိအာယံဟိရဋ္ဌကော-ကဗ္ဗေါပတ္တဗုဒ္ဓ
ဝိရ-ရမိတောဥပ္ပနာတတ္ထဝတ္ထာရောသံဗုဒ္ဓါနိပုနုတ္တမာ-တေသုဂေါတမဗုဒ္ဓဿ။

ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်ပါရမီသုတစါယာယောစသဗ္ဗတာပညာပု
ဂ္ဂာဂေပဂ္ဂိဝိတုဝိသေသနုတ္တဘိဝုဒ္ဓိဇ္ဇော။

ဇတ်သော်။ «ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်ပါရမီသဗ္ဗာစရိယာယော။ သဗ္ဗတာပညာပရိစ္ဆာဂေပရိစ္ဆာဗိတုဝေ
သန္တရတ္ထရာဝသ္မိဇ္ဇော။

ဒေဝေအတိတ္တ မိပုတ္တတဋ္ဌ သဟဿေဟိ ဒသဟာဂမ္မသဗ္ဗသောက္ခန္တိန္ဒြာ
ဇာမိရတ္တံ။

ဇတ်သော်။ «ဒေဝအတိတ္တမိ ဓမ္မဝါဒ သဟဿေဟိ ဒသဟာဂမ္မသဗ္ဗသောက္ခန္တိန္ဒြာ
ဇာမိရတ္တံ။

ပဏ္ဍိတ ဝလံဒဋ္ဌ မကမ္ပိ ဘံစတုဂေါအဂေါ
အဓိဋ္ဌာယိသုနုပုဂ္ဂိုလ်တမေ။

ဇတ်သော်။ «ပဏ္ဍိတအဝလံဒဋ္ဌမကမ္ပိတံစတုရောအဂေါအဓိဋ္ဌာယ-ဒိဝိဒိပုရိသုတ္တမေ။

ပဝရဗ္ဗရာဇာဗုဒ္ဓိ ဗျာဒလောဏသမ္ပန္န
သဝိပေါဒြဝံ-

ဖတ်သော်။ «ပဝရဗ္ဗရာဇာဗုဒ္ဓိဗျာဒလောဏသမ္ပန္နသဝိပေါဒြဝံ။

သပ္ပိုသေဝိတံ ပညဝိယဇောသံ ဩဒါ
တာယဟမေညော-

ဖတ်သော်။ «သပ္ပိုသေဝိတံ ပညဝိယဇောသံ ဩဒါတာယဟမေညော။

ဤကားရှေးကအရေးအသားကမ္ဘည်းအက္ခရာနှင့်၊ ယခုအရေးအသားအက္ခရာကွဲပြားသည်
ကိုဖော်ပြခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။

ရှေးအရေးအသားအက္ခရာများဖတ်ရွတ်အဘိဓာန်။

ရေးနည်း	ဖတ်ပုံ	ရေးနည်း	ဖတ်ပုံ	ရေးနည်း	ဖတ်ပုံ	ရေးနည်း	ဖတ်ပုံ	ရေးနည်း	ဖတ်ပုံ	ရေးနည်း	ဖတ်ပုံ
ရှယ်	ရှ်	မိယ	မိယ	နိယ	နဲ	ပန်ခိ	ပန်းခို	ပြန်ခိ	သရဝက်	အကြယ်	အက္ခရယ်
ရှယ်	ရှ်	ခွတ်	ခွတ်	ပတ္တယျ	ပွဲယျ	ငယ်	ငရဲ	ငြိယ်	ငြိ	၂	၁
ရှယ်	ရှ်	ညယ်	ညိ	ဟယ်	ရှ်	မှိယ်	ငြိ	ရှိယ်	ရှိ	၃	၂
ဆိယ်	ဆွ	ညှိ	အိ	လိယ်	လေး	သက်ဆီ	သက်ဆီ	ရိယ်	ရဲ	၄	၃
ဆယ်	ဆွ	ဖိတ်	အိ	အပတ်	အဖိတ်	အမယ်	အမယ်	လေး	လည်း	၅	၄
မိယ်	မြေ	ကိယ်	ကြေး	ကြည်	ကျေး	ဆိတ်	ဆိတ်	သုတ္တ	သောကြာ	၆	၅
မြိယ်	မြေ	ကျယ်	ကျဲ	အဝိယ်	အဝိ	တိယ်	ဟိ	ပြညာ	ပညာ	၇	၆
တ်	ထော်	မိယ်	မေ	ပိယ်	ပေး	တက်ဂိတ်	တက်ဂိတ်	ထုယ်	ထွေး	၈	၇
တတ်	တော	နေယ်	နေ	သိယ်	သေ	ယွန်	ယွင်း	သုဂ္ဂ	သက္ကရာဇ်	၉	၈
ငယ်	ငွေ	ဆိယ်	သေ	ဇိမ	ညိမ	ခွယ်	ခွဲ	ညှိ	သရီ	၁၀	၉
ငယ်	ငွေ	ဂါ	၅	ဖုထုယ်	ဖထွေး	ဝယ်	ဝေ	အိအိ	အိ	၁၁	၁၀
ဖိတ်	ဖိ	ယျား	ယေး	ညှိဝန်	သရဝက်	ငါချတ်	ငါချတ်	သောန်	သွန်း	၁၂	၁၁
ဖိတ်	ဖိ	ငြိ	ငြိ	မျိတ်	ငြိ	ယောဟာ	ယောဟာ	ပဝ	ပဝ	၁၃	၁၂
ကျော်	ကျော်	နိရဝန်	နိဗ္ဗန်	ပန်ကျာ	ပန်းကျာ	မြယ်	မြဲ	ကြညာ	ကြေး	၁၄	၁၃
အောက်	အောက်	၃၅၀	၃၅၀	ပန်ဖယ်	ပန်းပဲ	ခရိုင်	ခရိုင်	ဟိယ်	ရှ်	၁၅	၁၄

ဤကား။ ရှေးရှေးကအရေးအသားအက္ခရာများကိုတွေ့ယှက် ဖတ်ရွတ်နိုင်ရန် အနည်းငယ် ဖော်ပြလိုက်သည်။

သို့လိုရှေးကသုံးစွဲသောနည်းနာများကို သိမြင်မှတ်သားရမှသာလျှင်။ ရှေးဟောင်းကမ္ဘာများကိုတွေ့မြင်ပါက။ ပြုပြင်စံယဉ်းခြင်းယှိလိမ့်မဟုတ်ဟုထင်မှတ်ပါသည်။

ဆရာသိန်း

The History of ဓိ or ဓိ-စွဲ-သ်-ဌ-ငင်း and other Burmese characters.

[(a) ဓိ or ဓိ has developed in four ways: (1) by stopping the vowel *e* with *အ*, thus: ဓိ, which is another way of writing ဓိ-စွဲ. In former times *အ* used to be represented by *ခ-ခ*, later *ဟ*. In course of time the connecting hyphen came to be dropped and only the two lines remained. The two lines later became one. Hence the modern ဓိ, pronounced as *ဆေ*. Similarly ဓိ-ငင်း have changed successively into ဓိ-ငင်း, ဓိ-ငင်း, ဓိ-ငင်း. Hence the under dot represents *အ*.

(2) by killing *e* with *ဝ* and stopping it with *အ*, thus: ဓိ. Later the fore part of *ဝ* was merged into *e* so that the *ဝ* was not clearly distinguishable, thus: ဓိ-စွဲ, pronounced as *အသ်*.

(3) by stopping with *အ* the vowel *e* 'thrown back' thus: ဓိ-စွဲ pronounced as *အသ်*.

(4) by killing *e* with *ည* and stopping it with *အ*, thus: ဓိ-စွဲ, pronounced as *အသ်*. It is clear that at the present day the first two ways are adopted and not the third and the fourth. The last appears only in such words as ဓိသ် *a guest*, but whatever the form of the character may be, the modern pronunciation is that of the fourth character ဓိ. In ancient times the first two methods of writing and pronouncing the character seem to have been in vogue. But judging from the fact that the later poets Silavamsa, Ratthasāra, Aggasamādhi and others adopted the ဓိ pronunciation in their poems the pronunciation of the first two characters seems to have developed into that of the fourth. Hence the modern pronunciation although the forms of the characters are those of the first and the second.

(b) The history of ဓိ is as follows: The ancient custom of reading it seems to have been ဓိ as in ဓိ, ဆိ, ဆိ—*having done, having spoken* and of writing it seems to have been ဓိ as ဓိ, ဆိ, ဆိ of the inscriptions. Examples of the equivalence of ဓိ and ဓိ are ဓိ, ဓိ, ဓိ, ဓိ, ဓိ, ဓိ, ဓိ, ဓိ, ဓိ, ဓိ. Later the ဓိ was made to 'lift' the ဓိ and the result was ဓိ, which again has dwindled into the modern ဓိ by joining the ဓိ and the ဓိ and writing them without a break and hurriedly. Note that the ဓိ has been curtailed. The pronunciation accordingly ought to be ဓိ but the poets have adopted the pronunciation of ဓိ. The four ways of reading and writing which are obtained in the case of ဓိ as shown above ought to be applicable here.

(c) The Ancients seem to have written and read ဓိ as သ် *e.g.* ဓိ—the first singular personal pronoun. This later became ဓိ, which gradually dwindled into သ် which was in vogue about nine or eight hundred years of the sakkaraj era, and which has been modified into ဓိ. Although this character is stopped by ဓိ, the pronunciation is that of သ်.

(d) The Ancients seem to have read and written ဓိ as ဓိ *e.g.* ဓိ, ဓိ, ဓိ, ဓိ, ဓိ, ဓိ, ဓိ, ဓိ, ဓိ, ဓိ—the Buddha and the Law and the Clergy. Later the numerical sign for *four* took the place of ဓိ being of the same pronunciation, thus: ဓိ, later ဓိ then ဓိ further ဓိ.

(e) ဓိ seems to have been first represented by ဓိ as in သ်, သ်, သ်, သ်, သ်, သ်, သ်, သ်, သ်, သ်—in *Sāvattli, at Jetavana Monastery*. The numerical

symbol for *two* (၂) of the same pronunciation later took its place, thus သာရဝတ်ပြည်၌၊ ဧည့်တန်ကြောင်း၌— The 'killing' sign, the banner above, seems to have been introduced, thus: ၂ to distinguish this locative suffix from the numerical symbol. Or, the connection with the numerical symbol seems to have been lost sight of and the ၂ mistaken for ၃, especially as there was a symbol for ၃ which looked like the beak of a bird thus: ၃, as in ၃၅၊ ၃၅၅— *a man, a woman*, and this must have been crowned with the flourishing banner by one of the wise men of ancient days. The numerical symbol for *two* was also represented in some old MSS. as ၂— being the sign for *one*. The equivalence of ၂ and ၃ is further seen in တုမဟာရာဇ်— တုမဟာရိက်။ သင်ကျမ်းသင်စာ—သိုက်ကျမ်းသိုက်စာ။ In the old Arakan history မိရစ်ရာဇာ occurs for မိရိက်ရာဇာ။ Witness also အရပ်အရာ—အရပ်အရာ—အရိက်အရာ—အရိတ်အရာ။ Also ပါဠိပါဠိ for ပါဠိပါဠိ in an inscription of the Pukan-tak-nwe monastery, once the residence of Shin Uttamagyaw. Saya Thein here gives evidence from old inscriptions and palm-leaves for the facts of the five characters above explained. See especially page 133 last line for (a); page 134 line 3 for (b).

(f) The big ည and the small ည. The former with the double head is, according to a verse on spelling, used in such words as ယုံကြည်၊ ရောင်ခြည် and is, as the author of *Vohāratthapakasani* points out, a conjunct consonant; whereas the latter is used in such words as ဘုံကြည်၊ ရောင်ကြည်၊ ချိချည်။ In pronunciation the former is equivalent to ည, and the latter to ည. These characters are met with in old MSS. The modern forms ည (big) and ည (small) are the result of hasty scribbling and are adopted in printing. Baṅgala Sayadaw in his *Hito-padesa* employs ည as the small ည. In some MSS. written since Sakkaraj 1218 the half ည is met with.

(g) In old spelling books distinction is made between ည and ည. The Talaings and the Arakanese observe this distinction, but the Burmese being unable to pronounce them distinctly have exclusively used ည. Thus ကြံ is pronounced as ကရံ by the Talaings and လမ်းကြောင်း as လမ်းကောင်း by the Arakanese. One meets with ညိုညိုသည်၊ ညိုညိုသည်၊ အမိန့်တော်ရှိသည် and အလိုရှိသည်၊ ညိုသည်—ယေယျာ။ ညိုယျာပင်၊ ညိုယျာပင် in old MSS. In a bell at the Shwe San Daw pagoda, Prome, occur ညောင်သည်၊ ညောင်သည်၊ ညိုသည်၊ ညိုသည်၊ ညိုသည် exclusively. For further examples see above, page 135 line 5 from below.

(h) The spelling book gives the same pronunciation to ည and ည by using both and stopping them with the double stops, thus—ကယ်၊ ကယ်၊ ကယ်။ Now in printing က and ကယ် are invariably used representing က။ Witness also ညောင်ကြည် ည for ညောင်ကြည်မယ်၊ တွန်း ည သည်၊ အဘယ်ကြောင့်၊ အဘယ်ကြောင့်၊ အဘယ်ကြောင့်၊ အဘယ်ကြောင့် in old MSS.

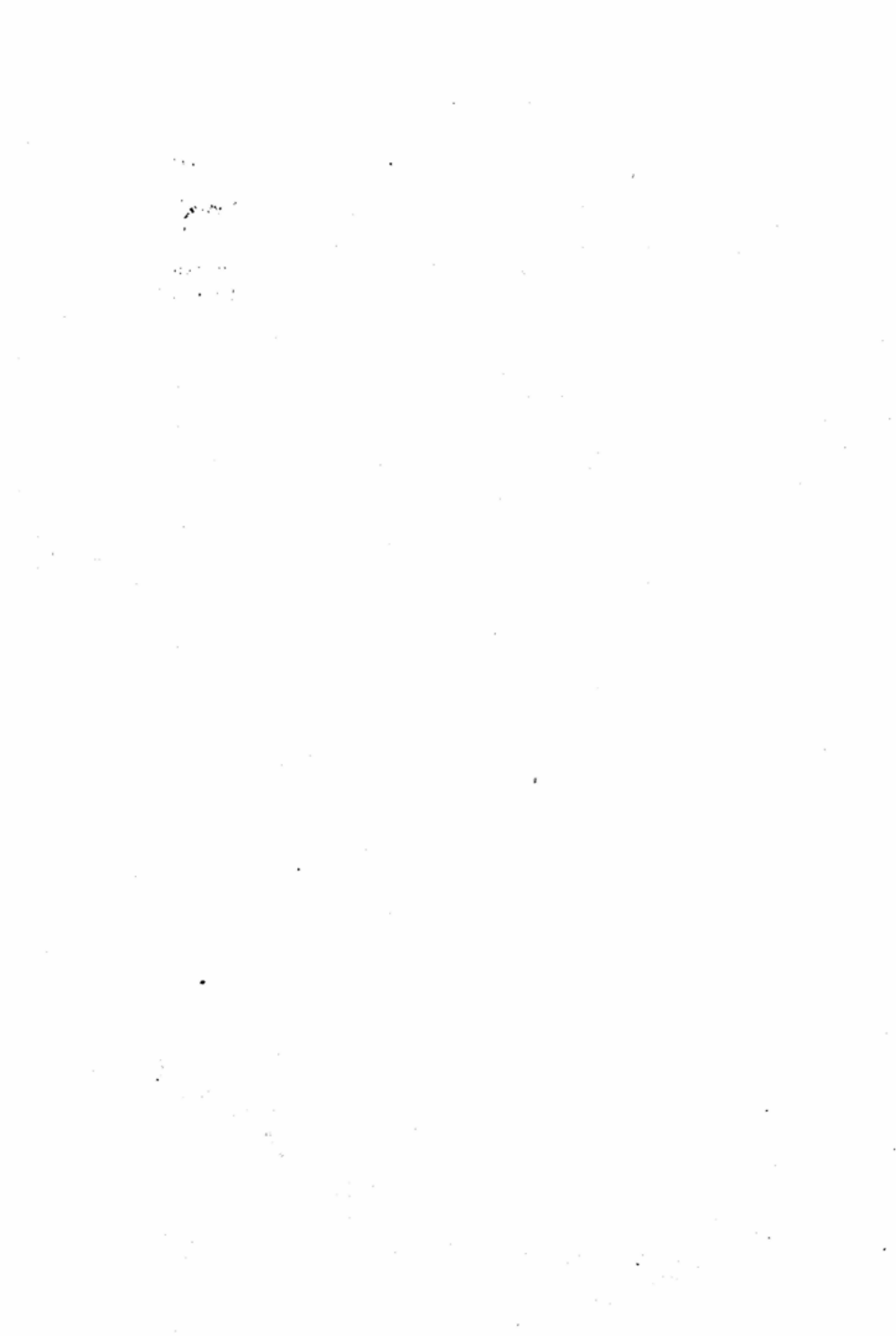
(i) ည is a conjunct consonant of ည and ည. Hence ည is pronounced ည. Some people not minding or knowing this use the conjunct where the single letter ည should be used. The conjunct consonant is sometimes shown by ည in printed books and ည also in old MSS. For example see page 136 line 3 from below.

(j) The conjunct of ည and ည is represented by ည-ည-ည-ည-ည. Nowadays it is shown in printed books as ည i. e., by putting the first letter in the belly of the second.

(k) A double ခ is met with in old MSS. as an ခ_၁. Although this double character has been lost in writing and in printing, it is still kept up in pronunciation, for the modern ခ_၁ is pronounced ခ_၁ခ_၁.

The paper concludes with a selection from old inscriptions with their modern readings.

—*Editor.*]



SHIN UTTAMAGYAW AND HIS TAWLA,

A NATURE POEM—VIII.

This verse opens with a magnificent scene at *Râjagaha* in *Thadingyut* (October) when Buddha's intended visit to His royal father at the triumphant city of *Kapilavatthu* is made known.

A large concourse of *Devas* from the *Tavatimsa* heavens with *Indra* at their head, the *Brahmas* from the higher abodes, the *Asuras* and the *Nagas* from the lower regions with their respective chiefs make their appearance with offerings of multi-coloured lights and flowers made of gold, and bow before the great Conqueror in fervent devotion. It is said that the effulgence and splendour of the celestial crowd make the whole heavens assume a brilliant aspect. It looks as if it is about to be ablaze with lightning flashes. Cynthia is seen full-orbed at her highest altitude in the sky. She sheds her resplendent rays in company with the *Nakshatra Asavani* and the constellation known as the *Crow*. From this distinctive feature of the sky it is evident that it was in *Thadingyut* (October) that the auspicious news of Buddha's intended departure from *Râjagaha* began to spread. And from other records (see notes on Verse III) we also learn that the actual journey took place only in *Tabaung* (March) when *Kâludârî* the last of the ten noblemen sent by king *Suddhodana* to invite his son to his city arrived at *Râjagaha*. So the passage shown in this verse in brackets relating to *Kâludâ's* solicitation that Buddha might proceed on a journey seems altogether out of place. It is nowhere found except in one text. Besides that, it is not only repugnant to the context but also spoils the entire sense when the order of the seasons is taken into consideration. Undoubtedly it is a subsequent interpolation inserted by some would-be poet in the wrong place. It has therefore been left entirely unnoticed in the notes given below.

The next scene relates to *Tabaung* and *Tagu* (March and April) the months during which the journey was undertaken.

Here again it may be noticed that even with the passage above referred to, the scenic transition is so abrupt and so vague that it tends to defeat any attempt to find out to which particular season a certain descriptive account relates. The passage referring to the gathering of birds of varied plumage to hold a fête would certainly appear at first to allude to *Thadingyut* (October). After careful reading, however, one would be able to make out that it relates to *Tabaung* (March). In all probability the intention of the poet is to make us understand that the delightful forest tract through which Buddha proceeds on His journey becomes more charming by the presence of flocks of birds merrily moving about twittering and warbling in rich melody as if holding a festival. He also says that the same season (by which he certainly means *Tabaung*) is also marked by the activity of *Zawgyis* and *Weikzas* who are at strife with one another to gain possession of the *Thuyaung* flowers. He next refers to *Tagu* (April) and represents the old year as about to pass away. The advent of *Thingyan* is also described.

So much for the seasons. The poet now turns his attention to the journey itself.

It is said that *Tathagata* with a following of eight hundred thousand *Sanghas* proceeds on His way to the royal city. He imparts to them religious instruction. *Brahmas* and *Devas* in innumerable numbers appear and attend upon the holy assemblage. Ambrosial food and other delicacies are offered ceaselessly; and throughout the journey great festivities are celebrated with music of all kinds which makes the whole forest-tract resound. The heavens also ring with the sound caused by the beat of the celestial drums. Thus on this auspicious occasion opportunity is taken by one and all present to gain merit by waiting full-heartedly upon the divine congregation with offerings of various kinds.

The opening lines ဗုဒ္ဓိတိဿော၊ မင်္ဂလာနန္ဒ၊.....တြမည်ဝယ်၊ refer to the announcement made by Lord Buddha of His intention to go on a journey to *Kapilavatthu*. ဗုဒ္ဓိတိ (from Pāli ဗုဒ္ဓတိ) means "To declare; to predict." ဩဘာ can be derived either from the Pāli ဩဘာသော or from ဩဘာသတိ။ The former is a Noun and means "Radiance; light; manifestation;" as well as "a hint;" while the latter is a Verb and means "To speak to; address." So ဗုဒ္ဓိတိဩဘာ may mean either "A declaration made by means of a hint or by word of mouth." Here however the latter sense is preferable (cf. ဗုဒ္ဓိတိကော၊ ကြားတော်မူသည်။). The Pāli word မင်္ဂလာ means "Blessing." The Buddhist notion is that divine speech or action is always attended with great blessing. Hence the expression ဗုဒ္ဓိတိဩဘာ၊ မင်္ဂလာနန္ဒ။ The expression အောင်ချာနဂ၊ ကပိလသို့ means "To Kapila, the triumphant city." And the Pāli word နဂ၊ means "A town or city." *Kapilavatthu* is here styled the triumphant city probably because it is the birth place of Gotama Buddha, the Great Conqueror. It may be that the poet simply wishes to show that it is the chief city of a great and powerful kingdom. (In the latter sense compare with ဝဠု၊ အောင်ချာန၊ ရွှေဘုံနန်းသို့ in Letwè Thōndara's *Ratus*).

The next passage—beginning from အေဝုရိန္ဒ၊ နာဂိန္ဒြိယာ down to ဗုလ္လာညွတ်၊ ဝန်းကြွတ်၊ shows how the news of Buddha's intended journey was received by celestial and infernal beings.

The word သုရိန္ဒ stands for the Pāli အသုရိန္ဒာ။ Though it simply means "The chief of the *Asūras*" here it implies the whole *Asūra* world. The same may be said of the word နာဂိန္ဒ (Pāli နာဂိန္ဒော) which means "The Chief of the *Nagas*."

မာလိဝိဇ္ဇ၊ stands for ဝိဇ္ဇ၊ မာလိ which is a Pāli word for "Lightning."

ရွှေအာသံ may here mean simply "A flower work in gold." But if taken together with သိမိနံ the whole may mean "Various kinds of lights shaped like flower-buds and flower-blossoms of a golden tinge."

မျိုးတေဇရန်၊ ဖွင့်အားသန်သည်၊ ငါးမာရ်အောင်လှမ်း၊ စောရှင်ချစ်ကို။ This refers to Buddha who has achieved a victory over the five *Māras* or the five manifestations of the Evil Principle. မျိုးတေဇရန် means "The seed of all evil—the powerful enemy," တေဇ (Pāli) meaning "Power or influence." This expression conveys the same meaning as ငါးမာရ် in ငါးမာရ်အောင်လှမ်း။

ငါးမာရ်—The five *Māras* are the five hindrances to the attainment of *Nirvāṇa*. They are *Khandha-māra*, *Kilesa-māra*, *maccu-māra*, *abhisankhāra-*

māra, and *devaputta-māra*, i. e., continued existence, sin, death, Kârma and the sinful angel or Tempter. So long as these exist *Nirvāna* cannot be attained.

စော in စောဇ္ဈင်္ဂ which is an epithet of Buddha is an *archaic* word meaning "Noble, excellent, exalted, blessed." It is almost invariably used as a prefix or an affix to a personal noun in connection with the divinity and the royalty, as—မင်းစော the excellent king; and စောဗုဒ္ဓ the blessed One or Buddha.

ကသပ်ဇရာ။ ကမ္ဘလာက refers to the *Tāvātimsa* heavens, ကသပ် *Erythrina indica* being the emblematic tree growing there. ကမ္ဘလာ means "A blanket;" but here it refers to the marble throne on which *Sakra* sits and which is said to be as soft as a blanket.

မိုးဝတီလုံ။ တိမ်မိတာန်ဝယ်။.....မိုးချက်မွေ့။ The allusion here is to the aspect of the sky on the night of the full-moon in *Thadingyut* (October) when the moon, the *Nakshatra Asavani* and the constellation known as the *Crow* all appear at their zenith at the same time. မွေ့လာတာန် simply means "In the sky."

ရွှေကာကလ။ ကျီသိုမြွေ။ means "The crow which sings sweetly." It refers to the Constellation known as the *Crow*. ကာကလ is a Pāli word which means "The sweet song of a bird."

ပရိဒိမရွှေ။ မိုးချက်မွေ့။ means "To be at the zenith concurrently." (Cf. မိုးချက်မွေ့ တည်မှန်းညိမ့် in Verse VII).

လေ့သဘော။ ငှက်စုံရောလျက်။.....မြင်ရသာစွာ။ စက်မြန်းကြသော်။ This is one aspect of the scene in the forest-tract when Buddha passes through it. It is said that many kinds of birds flock together as if holding a fête, warble sweet notes and caress each other in pairs like human beings.

လေ့သဘော။ ငှက်စုံရောလျက်။ It is a customary thing to see different species of birds flocking in the forest in *Tabaung* (March). Hence this expression. The word လေ့ means "Custom, while သဘော means "Character, nature."

မယ်စောရင့်ယု။ This refers to a female bird caroling in a rich melodious voice. Notice that a female bird is here represented as a princess.

ကျွန်တို့ကျွန် means "To clamour in tender pathos." ကျွန် (Archaic) means "A shout or clamour." (Cf. တီးပျတ်ကျွန်၊ ဘဝင်လုံ၊ ပျော်အုတ်ကျွန်—Kogan Pyo).

ကာလချိန်မှီ။ သည်ရာသီဝယ်။.....သင်ကြန်မြင်လျက်။ By these lines the poet means that the season is also the time when *Zawgyis* and *Weikzas* are busy performing experiments in alchemy—the art that finds a universal remedy. Some quarrel over the *Thuyaung* flowers. It is also the time when the year is dying out and the *Thingyan* feast is approaching.

ကာလချိန်မှီ။ သည်ရာသီဝယ် means "The same season," that is *Tabaung* (March).

ခေပ်ရိသံသတ်။ ဝိဇ္ဇာနတ်တို့။ *Zawgyis* and *Weikzas* (or *Vijjās*) are men who generally live in deep forests such as the *Himavanta* regions. They practise alchemy not for material gain but for the sake of longevity in order to meet the Buddha who will appear next in this *Kappa*. They endeavour to kill iron or mercury, that is to make the philosopher's stone which turns baser metals into gold. Those who are successful in their art can fly through the air. They also possess the power of imparting life to a *Thuyaung* flower which has the form of a lovely girl and grows in the same *Himavanta* regions. They sometime quarrel over these flowers and when they get them in their possession they make them living beings and cohabit with them. Hence the mean-

ing of the passage ဇော်ရိသံသတ်.....သူယောင်လူသာ။ The same term ဝိဇ္ဇာ or ဝိဇ္ဇာဓရော (written in Burmese ဝိဇ္ဇာမိရ်) occurs in three *Jātakas* (Buddhist birth stories) and is there mentioned as a person possessing the power of performing miracles such as passing through the air, of taking any form and so on. He owes his name to his vast knowledge by which he works miracles the term ဝိဇ္ဇာဓရော meaning "Endowed with knowledge." The same meaning lends colour to the expression ဝိဇ္ဇာ in this poem.

ရာဇ in ရာဇဂေါဇာ means "Subdivision of a season." (See notes on Verse I). ဂေါဇာ means "An era, epoch." But ရာဇဂေါဇာ here means simply "The year."

အတာသက္ကရာဇ်။ For the meaning of အတာ see notes on တာသင်ကြပ် in Verse I. သက္ကရာဇ် means "An era, epoch, date, year." This term has been derived by some from the Pāli သက္က (Sakra) and ရာဇ (King) probably on the supposition that the Burmese era was first begun by *Sakra* the celestial monarch. The *Mônnywe Sadaw*, the author of the သမန္တကျေဝီပနီကျမ်း however derives it from the Pāli သက္ကာရာဇတိ which means "To receive hospitably, to honour, to revere." He explains it as that which is greatly revered by the people (သက္ကာရိယဆော သက္ကာရိတာ). He also points out that the term was spelt သက္ကရာဇ် and not သက္ကရာဇ် in some ancient inscriptions.

The concluding lines beginning from ရှင်ချစ်ဘုရား၊ ထေရ်ပုံများနှင့် down to the end of the verse merely describe how during the journey the venerable *Phra* and His followers are entertained by the visitors from heaven as well as by the worshippers from the earth, and how the holy disciples themselves attend upon the great Master, set an example to those who seek the way of deliverance and keep alive the causes for acquiring merit.

တတာဂတ။ For the meaning of this term see notes on Verse IV.

သုခါ in သုခါမြိန်မြိတ် is a Pāli term for ambrosia or nectar.

ပဉ္စင် in ပဉ္စင်သံနှင့် is derived from the Pāli ပဉ္စ and အင်္ဂ and means "five qualities." It therefore refers to the five kinds of musical instruments. They are *âtatam* (drums covered with leather at one end); *vitatam* (drums covered with leather at both ends); *âtatavitatam* (drums completely covered with leather); *ghanam* (musical instruments played by striking such as a cymbal); *susiram* (wind instruments.)

ပဲ့တင် in ပဲ့တင်ငြိမ်းမှု means "An echo."

မိုးလျှံနတ်စည်။ မိုးကကြွေးမြည်လျက်။ This probably refers to the sound of Thunder. *Kasôn* (May) is approaching and signs of the rains are becoming more obvious from loud peals of Thunder.

နောင်လာမင်္ဂလိန်။ ကျွတ်တမ်းခိုသာ။ This alludes to those who strive to attain the highest degree of sanctification in time to come. For the meaning of မင်္ဂလိန် see notes on Verse VI. ကျွတ်တမ်း in ကျွတ်တမ်းခိုသာ means "The way of deliverance out of all evils" and ခို means "To take refuge or shelter."

နိစ္စတင်္ဂြို means "On constant duty." The term is made up of နိစ္စ (Pāli) which means "perpetual, lasting, constant," and ဇတ် which stands for the Pāli ဇတ္တ or ဝတ္တ (ဇ and ဝ being interchangeable) and which means "Duty."

ပုဏ္ဏိယုတ္တ၊ ဓမ္မဝတ္ထု။ This refers to the ten *Puññakriyâvatthu* (ပုဏ္ဏကရိယာဝတ္ထု) or the cause or materials of acquiring merit or doing good works. They are (1) *dānamayaṃ puññakriyâvatthu*, (2) *silamayaṃ*, (3) *bhāvanā-mayaṃ*, (4) *apacitisahagataṃ*, (5) *veyâvaccasahagataṃ*, (6) *patti-anup-*

padānaṃ, (7) *abbhanumodanā*, (8) *desanāmayanī*, (9) *savanamayani* and (10) *diṭṭhijjukammanī*, i. e., (1) almsgiving, (2) moral conduct, (3) contemplation, (4) worship, (5) service or duty performed by an inferior for a superior, (6) the transference of merit, (7) the acceptance or use of merit made over by another, (8) teaching the truth, (9) hearing the truth, and (10) making one's views or faith straight or firm. It may be noticed that in the foregoing list *dāna* (almsgiving) takes the top place. Accordingly the poet writes လှူမျိုးပညာ by which he intends to cover all those causes or materials enumerated above ပညာ being a Pāli term for "good works." မြေတ္တာ may be construed in two ways. If it is synonymous only with the term လှူ (gift) it may be taken to mean "gift of spiritual and temporal blessings (ဓမ္မဒါန and အာရုံဒါန)". If on the other hand it has reference to the whole expression it may simply mean "a good or just cause." The meanings of the Pāli terms မြေ and တတ္တ are many. So in the first instance မြေ means "religious truth," and တတ္တ means "substance or object"; while in the second they respectively mean "Justice" and "Cause." ဆည်းပူးစုသည် means "To treasure up, to accumulate." Hence the passage လှူမျိုးပညာ၊ မြေတ္တာ၊ ဆည်းပူးစုသည် simply means "To accumulate merit by doing good works."

ပြုစုမျိုးတောင်လမွှေးတည်း means that the seed of merit is sown and reared up. It is a figurative expression borrowed from the process of agriculture; ပြုစု means "To foster" and မွေး "To rear." The meanings of these two are almost identical. (Cf. ကွေးမွေးပြုစု)

မျိုးတောင် is an agricultural term which means "To prepare a nursery of small plants or seedlings."

Po BYU.

VIII.

၀။ ။ ဗျာဒိတ်ဩဘာ၊ မင်္ဂလာနှင့်၊ အောင်ချာနဂရ၊ ကပိလသို့၊ ကြမည့်ခါဝယ်။ (ကာလုဒါလျှင်၊ ကါတာ ပရိတ်၊ ခတ်တံဆိပ်နှင့်၊ မြိန်ဝသေချာ၊ ဂုဏ်ကို၊ ဖြာကို၊ အံ့ရာမခန်း၊ လွန်းခြီးမွမ်း၍၊ ဖြန့်မြန်းစကြာ၊ ကြချီခါဝယ်။) ဒေဝါသုရိန်၊ နာဂိန်၊ ဗြဟ္မာ၊ ထိန်တိန်ဖြာသည်၊ မာလိဝိဇ္ဇာ၊ လောင်လုလုသို့၊ ရွှေဥအာသု၊ ဆီမီးစုံနှင့်၊ အာရုံညွတ် ကျိုး၊ ပူဇော်ပျိုးလျက်၊ မျိုးတေဇရန်၊ ပွင့်အားသန်သည်။ ငါးမာရ်အောင်လှစ်၊ စောရှင်ချစ်ကို၊ ကသစ်စံရာ၊ ကမ္ဘလာက၊ ပူးလာညွတ်ခ၊ ဝန်းရံကြ၏၊ မိုးဝထိန်လျှံ၊ တိမ်မိတာန်ဝယ်။ တိမ်ယံသွယ်ဖြာ၊ မွေဝလာထက်၊ ရွှေ ကာကလ၊ ကျိုးညိုမြင့်၊ ငွေလစန္ဒီ၊ အသဝဏီတို့၊ ပါဏိမိမရွှေ၊ မွန်းချက်မွေ၍၊ လေ့သဘော၊ ငှက်စုံရောလျက်၊ မယ်စောရင့်ယူ၊ ကြည်သမူလည်၊ လူသူသကဲ့၊ မောင်ထူးတွဲ၍၊ ကျွန်းနွဲ့ကျံကျံ၊ ငှက်ပွဲခံကာ၊ မြိုင်ယံသာစွဲ၊ စက် မြန်းကြသော်၊ ကာလချိန်မှီ၊ သည်ရာသီဝယ်၊ ဇော်ကျီသံသတ်၊ ပိဇ္ဇာနတ်တို့၊ အတတ်ယံခို၊ ရန်မီးသိုလျက်၊ မျက် လိုမာန်ပြု၊ သူရောင်လှူ၍၊ ရတုဂေါဇာ၊ ယုတ်မောစွာဝယ်၊ အတာသက္ကရာဇ်၊ သင်္ကြန်ဖြစ်လျက်၊ ရှင်ချစ်ဘုရား၊ ထေရ်ပျံ့မျှားနှင့်၊ တရားမိန့်ခါ၊ ရံဝန်းကာသည်၊ ဗြဟ္မာသိန်းသောင်း၊ နတ်ပေါင်းကုဋေ၊ စုံမြိုင်ခြေဝယ်၊ ရှိသေလှ စွာ၊ တတာကတ၊ သုံးလူ့ဘနှင့်၊ မူးလုသမ္ဘာ၊ ရှစ်သိန်းပါကို၊ သုခာမြိန်မြတ်၊ လူကပ်မစ်၊ တသံသလျှင်၊ ပွဲသ ဘင်ခံ၊ ပဉ္စသံနှင့်၊ မြိုင်ယံသိမ့်သိမ့်၊ ပုတင်ငြိမ့်မျှ၊ မိုးလိမ့်နတ်စည်၊ ရှိဘုံ၊ ကြွေးမြည်လျက်၊ ပတ်လည်ဝန်းကာ၊ ထေရ်သမ္ဘာတို့၊ နောင်လာမင်္ဂလ၊ ကျွတ်တမ်းခိုသာ၊ ရှိသေမြတ်ဝတ်၊ နိစ္စမတ်ငြိမ်း၊ အမြတ်တန်၊ လှူမျိုးပညာ၊ မြေတ္တာ၊ ဆည်းပူးစုသည်။ ပြုစုမျိုးတောင်လမွှေးတည်း။

Victory crowns the city of Kappilawut whither the Sage is about to proceed. The word is given and the news has spread. (Kaludayi chants the endless praises of His nine-fold glory).

Myriads of celestials and infernals come in clusters with lights shaped like golden flowers in bud and bloom. They adore their triumphant Lord. The sky is aglow with a thousand hues.

Sakra who sits on high under the *Kathit* shade descends from his seat of marble and joins the devoutful throng. *Asavani* and the *crow* shine by the side of the full-orbed moon in Thadingyut. Their cold beams scatter the clouds from the field of heaven.

The springtide has come. Birds flit about in pairs and utter their loves human-wise in melodious tones. The festal sound rings through the laughing woods.

In the self-same season *Zawgyis* and *Weikzas* conscious of their supreme skill in the hermetic art bitterly contend for the *Thuyaung* bloom.

The *Thingyan* feast ushers in the infant year. *Bramas* and *Nats* come in thousands to greet the Master girt with a saintly following of eight hundred thousand monks. They offer ambrosial food and the forest realm resounds with the music of the five instruments. The heavens give forth a thunderous peal.

The tireless devotion of the attendant monks would stir seekers of deliverance to noble efforts. The seeds of merit are sown with a liberal hand in the hope of an abundant harvest.

B. H.

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

U GA BYAN, GOVERNOR OF SINDIN, ARAKAN.

Few figures in Arakanese history are so attractive as that of the minister U Ga Byan the dashing soldier, the dilettante, the *littérateur*, the friend and companion of Min Khamaung. He flourished towards the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th when Razagri (1593-1612) was King of Arakan. Of his early life and parentage nothing is definitely known. He was created Governor of Sinden in Arakan and at the same time the king gave him the guardianship of the Crown Prince Min Khamaung who though very young led an extremely wild life. Somehow this guardianship did not prove to be of much benefit for the young prince continued to be as incorrigible as ever—wayward, reckless, and always ungrateful towards his doting father.

Besides U Ga Byan there were nine others, all mighty men of valour, who like the Paladins of romance formed a coterie to do and dare anything under the sun and from whom the prince was never for a moment separated. The brain and soul of the party was U Ga Byan. It was at his instigation that the prince sent a number of desperados to assassinate his father the king; but the plot being discovered Min Khamaung and his ten companions fled the country to take shelter at the Court of Hanthawaddi. During their short residence here U Ga Byan was much admired for his deep learning and showed himself up to be a poet of no mean order. On the promise of a free pardon the party returned to Arakan where everything went well with the prince on whom Razagri continued to pour his untiring affections.

Sometime after this Hanthawaddi was invested by the Arakanese. While this was going on and at the instigation of his guardian the prince attempted another assassination of his father. This again having fortunately failed the culprits fearing the king's anger went over to the side of the enemy where they were received with every mark of joy and respect. But one of Min Khamaung's wives who accompanied him pointed out that if death was to be their punishment it was far better to receive it at the hands of his father than be a friend of one who was the enemy of his own country. So the prince with his followers though opposed by overwhelming odds cut their way through and gained their own lines. The prince's valour and might was so conspicuous on this occasion that everybody concerned in the attempt on Razagri's life was entirely forgiven.

The next scene is laid at Sandoway. The prince went there with the avowed purpose of worshipping at the sacred shrines; but on arrival U Ga Byan his evil genius told him that two attempts at assassination had already failed and a third was not to be thought of. It was therefore decided upon to resort to open rebellion with thousands of discontented men who then

resided at Sandoway. There he got together all the pagoda slaves—several thousands—who consisted of prisoners of war and under his personal command marched on Myauk-U the capital. The royal forces met and crushed the rebels, the majority of whom fled to Burma. The ringleaders, the prince and his companions, were captured. On this occasion Razagri was very angry and had it not been for the persuasive wisdom of his chief minister the royal rebel would have received a very severe but well merited punishment. U Ga Byan's share of the blame was by no means a light one. He was told that the king conferred on him a unique distinction born of confidence when he was made the tutor and guardian of his son who was one day to rule the country. Since that confidence was seen to be sadly misplaced by the prince's repeated acts of violence against the State as well as Society he could no longer be considered a fit person to continue in the same high position of responsibility and trust he formerly held. As a just punishment for his many misdeeds he was accordingly made a pagoda slave attached to the temple of Mahamuni.

In after years when Min Khamaung ascended the throne one of his first acts was an attempt to reinstate his great friend into society. But the latter politely declared that the immemorial custom of the country in such a case—to restore an outcast into society—required a king to be even more powerful than the one who first meted out the punishment and that since he (Min Khamaung) had not yet proved himself a greater sovereign than his father he could not possibly accomplish what he so much desired without infringing one of the established customs which he had solemnly sworn to observe. All further efforts at persuasion having proved hopeless U Ga Byan was left to pass away the remainder of his chequered life in humble but disgraced obscurity and in the undisturbed contemplation of his many acts which constituted both his greatness and his failure.

As an author he is principally known for his gems of poetic thought with which he enriched the literature of his times. He has composed a *ratu* which consist of twelve verses representing the twelve months of the year and describes with great beauty of expression and accuracy of detail the customs and manners of the Arakanese of those days. Min Khamaung while still a Crown Prince spent three long years of continued enjoyment at Hanthawaddi during which he entirely forgot Arakan. So U Ga Byan presented him with his *ratu* which so powerfully affected him that he soon returned home amid the rejoicings of his people.

It might be mentioned here in passing that this practice of sending *ratus* with those who sojourn in distant lands to remind them of their home was until quite recently a common enough thing among the Arakanese. But it died an earlier death in Arakan proper for in the tumultuous days under the Burmese régime the character of the Arakanese underwent a great change necessitating in the abandonment of many of their civil institutions. In the Chittagong district however under the ægis of the mighty Company the Arakanese settlers found a tranquil home which enabled them to retain all their ancient customs and manners. These people coming over to Arakan either on pleasure or business used to carry with them such documents and

disclosed the interesting fact that there had developed a class of professionals who entirely maintained themselves by such compositions.

On payment of a rupee a housewife procures a suitable *ratu* which she makes over to her husband on the eve of his journey to a foreign land and tells him not to open it till business is over. When the proper time comes he reads it and falls a victim to its many allurements consisting chiefly of intimate domestic touches which so strongly appeal to his simple affectionate nature that he generally returns home at the earliest opportunity. Sometimes the *ratu* is sent on afterwards when the traveller has been away for many months; but in each case it never fails to bring about the desired effect.

SAN SHWE BU.

ANANTATHURIYA'S DEATH-SONG.

When Narapatisithu became King of Pagan in 1174 A. D. he seized Anantathuriya, son of the tutor to his elder brother Minyin Narathieinhka and gave him over to the executioners to slay him. "Now Anantathuriya was of a brave and constant heart; about the time of his death he spake four stanzas of *linka* and gave them saying 'offer them, I pray thee, to the King!' But the executioners tarried not but slew him, and afterwards gave the writing to the King. These are the four verses of that *linka*:—

When one attains prosperity,
Another is sure to perish.
It is the law of nature.

Happiness of life as King—
Having a golden palace to dwell in,
Court-life, with an host of ministers about one,
Enjoyment—shadow—peace,
No break to felicity—
Is but a bubble mounting for a moment to the surface of
the ocean.

Though he kill me not,
But in mercy and pity release me,
I shall not escape my *karma*.
Man's stark-seeming body
Lasteth not ever;
Verily it is the nature of every living thing to decay.

Thy slave, I beg
But to bow down in homage and adore thee!
If in the wheel of *samsara*
My past deeds offer me vantage,
I seek not for vengeance.

Nay, master, mine awe of thee is too strong!
 If I might, yet I would not touch thee;
 I would let thee pass without scathe.
 The blood is transitory, as all the elements of my body."

The above quotation has been translated from the Glass Palace Chronicle with the help of Prof. G. H. Luce. The Burmese Text of the poem is given below.

Linka is the Burmese for the Pali *alaṅkāra*, "ornament" and is the general name for poetry. But in practice *linka* is restricted to a poem of short length, consisting of four-syllabled feet, except the first foot which has three syllables. The present *linka* is the first which begins with a four-syllabled foot. Besides its historical associations it has great merits: depth of feeling, beauty of expression and simplicity of construction. The best criticism is offered by the Chronicle itself, which says "Now when these four stanzas were read before the King and he heard them, he commanded saying 'Set him free!' But the executioners spake into his ear and said 'The deed is done!' And the King slew those executioners saying 'Ye should have offered the writing before ye killed him; but behold, ye killed him first and offered the writing after!' Now when he had heard the writing the King had great remorse. Again and yet again he gasped and swooned away."

It is a matter of literary importance that we should possess the text of this famous poem as pure as possible. As a rule modern scholars quote the text from the Glass Palace Chronicle which was written in 1829 A. D. It is unfortunate, however, to find considerable differences of reading in the texts as given by the New Chronicle by Twinthin Mahasithu (*circa* 1798 A. D.) and the Great Chronicle by Maung Kala (*circa* 1724 A. D.) A comparative study of the Chronicles reveals the fact that the Glass Palace Chronicle, where it agrees with the Great Chronicle, follows the language of the latter so closely that it may be said to be practically the same. Here and there obvious attempts at variation of language are made by means of prepositions and connectives. But all the main parts of speech and modes of expression are the same. Where the two Chronicles give different accounts of historical facts the Glass Palace Chronicle generally gives reasons—many of them very tedious—for departing from the older Chronicle. The New Chronicle is less indebted in language, even where it follows the Great Chronicle. It is, rightly or wrongly, more critical and quotes more from the inscriptions and *Thamaings* than the Great Chronicle on which it is mainly based.

The differences of reading in the text of Anantathuriya's poem as given in the three Chronicles are considerable enough to demand reasons. Yet neither the New Chronicle nor the Glass Palace Chronicle has a word to say why they have departed from the text of the Great Chronicle. We have given the different readings in footnotes, G standing for the Great Chronicle and N for the New Chronicle. The theme may not be altered to any great extent; yet a slight difference in words here and there determines the character of the sentence. It is not easy to say which of the three texts is the best. Each has its own merits, as a study of the footnotes will show. In

the absence of arguments to the contrary, the text of the Glass Palace Chronicle should yield, on the score of age, to that of the New Chronicle and that again to that of the Great Chronicle. We can not say that the text of the Great Chronicle is the original one; perhaps it is. But we emphasize the fact that it is the oldest of the three standard Chronicles.

Note: U Tin, subdivisional officer of Pagan gives some different readings without documentary evidence on p. 33 of his *Kabyabandhasarakyam*.

- ၁။ သူတည်းကယောက် 1။ ကောင်းဘို့ရောက်မူ 2။ သူတယောက်မှာ 3။ ပျက်လင့်ကာသာ 4။
ဓမ္မတာတည်း။
၂။ ရွှေအိမ်နန်းနှင့်ကြွန်းလည်းခံ၊မတ်ပေါင်းရံလျက် 5။ ပျော်စံရိပ်ငြိမ်၊ စည်းစိမ်မကွာ၊မင်းချမ်းသာ
ကား၊သမုဒ္ဒရာ၊ရေမျက်နှာထက်၊ခဏတက်သည်၊ရေပွက်ပမာ၊တသက်လျာတည်း။
၃။ ကြင်နာသနား၊ ငါ့အားမသတ်၊ ယခုလွှတ်လည်း၊မလွတ်ကြမ္မာ 6။ လူတကာတို့၊ခန္ဓာခိုင်ကျည်၊
အတည်မမြဲ၊တောက်လွှဲတတ်သည်၊မချွတ်စသာ 7။ သတ္တဝါတည်း 8။
၄။ ရှိခိုးကော်ရော်၊ပူဇော်အကွန်း၊ပန်နုတုံ၏၊ခိုက် 9 ကြိုဝိပါက်၊ သံသာစက်၍၊ကြိုက်လတွန်မူ၊တို့မယူ
လို 10။ ကြည်ညိုစိတ်သန် 11။ သခင်မွန်ကို၊ချန်ဘိစင်စစ် 12။ အပြစ်မဲ့ရေး 13။ ခွင့်လှိုင်
ပေး၏ 14။ သွေးသည်အနိစ္စ၊ငါ့ခန္ဓာတည်း 15။

—Editor.

DERIVATION OF "ARĪ".

In his excellent paper "The Arī of Burma and Tāntric Buddhism" published in the Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1915-16, Mr. Duroiselle has brought together such a number of facts about the immoral Arī monks that he has become easily the highest authority on the subject. Whatever he says therefore is of great weight. Regarding the derivation of Arī, Mr. Duroiselle writes in note 3 on page 92: 'Arī is the phonetic transcription of the name; it is written *arañ*; following the written form, E. Huber (*B. E. F. E—O*, 1909, p. 584) derives this word from *Araññaka*, basing himself on the Thai inscription of Rāma Khombeng at Sukhotay, in which the word *Araññika* occurs, and which he took to be the same as the Burmese "Arī" in its full form. But M. L. Finot (*opus cit.*) has shown that *Araññika* is a proper name, that of a "monastery in a forest." Pali words ending in *ñā* (a), are never abbreviated in Burmese, but always retained in their full form. Moreover, the Arī were not ascetics living in forests, like the Buddhist and Brahman *Araññakas*, but lived together in large monasteries in or on the outskirts of villages. The word Arī comes from Ariya, "noble"; Pali final *y* (a) becoming in Burmese regularly *ñ* which is always pronounced *ī*: cf. *vinaya*=Burmese *vināñ*, pronounced *winī*'. We wonder whether it is a slip of the pen when Mr. Duroiselle gives *arañ* as the written

1 သူတယောက်သည် (G.) 2-ဆော် (N.) 3-ကား (G.) တယောက်ယောက် (N.) 4 ပျောက်လင့်ကာသာ (G.)
ပျောက်လင့်ရာသည် (N.) 5 ခတ်ရိတ်ရံ၍ (G.) 6 8-ကံကြွှာ (G.) မြစ်တက်ကြွှာ (N.) 7 မှတ်သော (G.)
ဗျာဓိစရာ (N.) 8 ဆေမြီရာတည်း (N.) 9 ခြိတ် (N.) 10 တုံခင်းမလို (N.) G. has an
additional foot after this: 8 ခတ်ရိတ်ရံ၍ 11 ကြည်ညိုစိတ်သန် (G.) ကြည်ညိုစိတ်သန် (N.) 12 အ
ချန်ဘိစင်စစ် (N.) 13 အပြစ်မဲ့ရေး (G.) 14-၍ (G.) 15 N has an additional foot before
this: ဆေမြီရာတည်း

form of the word Arī. For the word is written *Araññ* (a) in Burmese (with a double nasal) so generally that if we came across *arañ* we should look upon it as careless script. The identity of the Burmese word with the Pali *arañña* is at once established. Mr. Duroiselle himself has laid down the rule "Pali words ending in *ññ* (a) are never abbreviated in Burmese." But the wrong form *arañ* has misled him into finding another Pali origin. In taking the Pāli word *ariya* as the origin Mr. Duroiselle has for a moment forgotten that the word (or rather sound) Arī is due to the written form of the Burmese word and would never have come into existence but for the fact that the Burmese happened to pronounce the final *ññ* as *i* [*Araññ* (a)=*ari*]. Mr. Duroiselle has thus derived the word on the basis of its *sound* rather than the *form* which has produced the sound! His reference to *vinaya* being pronounced *winī* is not happy, for if the analogy holds good, *arī* should come from *araya* and not *ariya*, a Pāli word easy (and sacred) enough to be pronounced as such by the Burmese. The derivation of Arī from *araññ* (a) is borne out by the following passage from the Paukan (Pagan) Chronicle in Pāli (circa 15th century) a work attributed to Vajirabuddhi and in close agreement with the Burmese Great Chronicle of Maung Kala. Athāpi samathitthāne nisinnehi micchādittthikehi *araññabhikkhūhi* saddhiṃ mantetvā na ca devarūpaṃ nāma na ca buddharūpaṃ nāma taṃ rūpaṃ katvā thapitaṃ ahosi. Tañceva rūpaṃ pubbaṇhasamaye vā sāyanhasamaye vā bhattehi ca sūrāmerayehi ca pūjetvā saraṇaṃ karoti. It translates thus: "Then (Sawrahan) consulted the *Araññabhikkhus* of wrong views dwelling at Samathi (Thamahti) and made and placed an image known to be neither a spirit-image nor a Buddha-image. And he took refuge in that image worshipping it morning and evening with food and intoxicating drinks." There is not a shadow of doubt that the *Araññabhikkhus* are the Arī monks of the Burmese Chroniclers; for in other places the same Chronicle calls them by the Burmese term. The English translation of the passage from the *Glass Palace Chronicle* which treats of the same event has been quoted by "G. H. L." in his review on Mr. Duroiselle's article in Vol. IX, pt. I, p. 54. We quote it here for convenience: "Moreover he consulted the heretical Shin Arī regarding the Zigon pagodas in the Kingdom of Yathēpyi and Thaton, and he built five pagodas—Pahtogyi, Pahtongè, Pahtothamya, Thinlinpahto, Seittipahto. In them he set up what were neither Nat-images nor images of the Lord, and worshipped them with offerings of rice, curry and fermented drinks, night and morning." We are indebted to Mr. Duroiselle for the information that only one of these five pagodas: viz. Pahtothamya 'is still extant' (*opus. cit.* p. 86). Mr. Duroiselle has quoted M. L. Finot as his authority for the statement that 'Araññika is a proper name, that of a "monastery in a forest"'. But Buddhaghosa in his famous *Vissuddhimagga* defines *āraññika* as a forest-monastery and *āraññika* as a bhikkhu dwelling in a forest-monastery. The Pāli runs thus:—*āraññikaṃ nāma senāsanaṃ pañcadhanusatikaṃ* (p. 61 of Burmese Edition); *araññe nivāso sīlam assāti āraññiko* (p. 51). We would not have discussed the derivation of Arī had it not been for the influence it has had on some of Mr. Duroiselle's deductions.

—Editor.

AN INCIDENT IN BURMESE HISTORY.

In the stimulating address on Burmese History delivered recently under the auspices of this Society by Mr. Harvey in Rangoon College the lecturer in one small matter did less than justice to his theme. It is a minor point but worth correcting. He said—"He (Alaungpaya) was a great man indeed; yet his success shows how administratively rotten the country must have been. Had Burma possessed even a third-rate government a mere peasant like Alaungpaya could never have succeeded. Had government been even moderately just, conciliatory, and effective he could never have roused that national spirit which alone rendered his success possible" (p. 74, Vol. IX; pt. II).

Just in passing I would remark that the Talaings had only captured Ava two years previously and had not much time either to conciliate or to crush the national spirit. But that is not the point to which I wish to draw attention. The fact is that in some cases, at least, the hereditary nobles recognized his military genius and placed the administrative organisation at his disposal. Here is an instance which came to my notice in Myingyan a few years back.

Salinngathu is a village in the Myingyan District. Formerly it was subordinate to Kyauksauk Myo, an area exempt from official duties. In the beginning of the 14th century, (about 700 B. E.) the whole or part of Kyauksauk Myo was included in the "*Myin-ne*" by King Uzana of Panya and thenceforth the people had the privilege and duty of rendering military service. This was still the position at the time of the Talaing invasion. That is all matter of record in the "*Sittan*" of the charge deposed to by Nga San Min, who was *Si-sa* in 1145 B. E. (1783 A. D.), and who had succeeded his father, his grand-father, his grand-father's elder brother, and his great grand-father in the same charge. The present headman is a descendant of the same line. It was from him that I obtained the following account of the part played by his ancestor in repelling the Talaings.

'Nga Thu of Salin was appointed Myinsi and Yuasa of Min-yua about 1700 or 1750. His son P'o Gwe Byu succeeded him. P'o Gwe Byu raised a force against the Talaings at the same time as P'o Aung Zeya. They joined forces and defeated the Talaings. P'o Gwe Byu like P'o Aung Zeya aimed at the Kingship but on consulting the ponnas it was found not to be written in his horoscope. He accepted the decision and became General (*Sit-thugyi*) at Theingotteya (Rangoon) where he died. From his pretensions to the throne he is known as Bo Min. His sister Ma Gon was married to Aung Zeya.

There are still pagodas alleged to have been founded by Mibaya Ma Gon.

That might possibly be read as the boastful yarn of a man proud of his ancestry. But if you look at the Alaung: Min: Taya: Gyi: Ayé: daw Bon you will find that Salin Nga Thu is mentioned as one of his generals, and with this corroboratory evidence there is little doubt of the substantial accuracy of the tradition recited by the present headman.

J. S. F.

MEITTEYA AND SHINMALE.

The cult of Meittea, the coming Buddha, is very rare in Burma. But it exists in some Delta Karen villages.

Recently (1917) outside a monastery I noticed a long boat made of split bamboo, and decorated with little sticks. These had been covered with adhesive paste and dipped into rice, kaukhnyin and sessamum, there were a thousand sticks of each kind, the number, one thousand being regarded as important.

On enquiry from a half toothless and almost incomprehensible old Karen monk I ascertained that the long boat represented, or else was an offering to, one Shin-ma-le. This power or spirit was in some way confused with John the Baptist, a fore-runner of Meittea Buddha, but I could not make out, even roughly, what was the connection between the two, and I do not think the monk himself was very certain. He could only explain that they had just re-introduced from a neighbouring village the custom of making Shin-ma-le offerings, or offerings to Shin-ma-le. I have questioned several people who ought to know something about Shin-ma-le, and Karen Buddhist customs, but I have been unable to obtain any further information. Perhaps some of the readers of this Journal could enlighten me.

J. S. F.

FURTHER NOTES ON SHIN-MA-LE.

The former notes had been lying among my papers for a couple of years, either out of laziness or because I hoped that, sometime I might add to them, and at length had just been placed in an envelope with some other papers to the address of this Society, when I noticed on the river bank as I was passing such a long boat of split cane as I had seen two years ago. On making enquiries I was told that it was "Shin-ma-le" and therefore went ashore to examine it more closely and check the accuracy of my former notes.

They seem to have been generally accurate, but my informants on this occasion refused to furnish any information about Shin-ma-le; they refused however to accept suggestions that the ceremony had any connection with Meittea; they insisted that it was a Karen Buddhist ritual in which offerings were made in veneration of Gautama Peya.

According to the account given on this occasion the ceremony ought to be performed once in three years; it was unnecessary to perform it more frequently but I could not make out whether this was in any way forbidden. If they were short of cash the ceremony might stand over for a time, and in one Karen village which was represented at the discussion there had been no celebration for "four, five, eight, ten or nine years."

The feast ought to be celebrated at the full moon, and it seemed that any full moon, or at narrowest any full moon after harvest, would be suitable. But in the delta that meant either Tabaung or Tagu; one village had held its festival in Tabaung this year, the boat which I saw had been

built for the full moon of Tagu. It was denied that any particular ceremonies accompanied the building of the boat, and that any particular formula or ritual accompanied the celebration. (*Gata ma shi bu*). The only very definite information that I could gather was that meat was prohibited or at any rate not customary; nothing more substantial that cakes was allowed, and in the village which had held the celebration in Tabaung they had given their guests "nothing but salt and chillies"; fish and vegetables had gone with the salt and chillies but no cakes nor meat. No pongyis had been invited they would not have come. The reason assigned for their abstention was the poorness of the fare; but it is possible that originally they had refused to partake of food offered to idols. The abstention of the pongyis and the fact that the feast and ceremony is confined to the Karens certainly indicate a non-Buddhist origin.

My impression that it was important for the items offered to number one thousand was confirmed. This was again given as the proper number, and there were in fact ten trees of rice, ten of sessamum and ten of paper flowers; each tree bore a hundred branches. At the bottom of each tree were ten tubes of bamboo that had been filled to make the offering of water; but the total number of these, it will be noticed, does not complete the thousand. Candles were lighted between each tree. Little wooden oars were tied to each tree and at the stern of the boat was a wooden rudder. In the bow and stern were hung heart shaped pieces of wood, but this, I was assured, was only "*la-aung*"—လှေအောင်—

Alongside the boat was a little stand or natsin similarly constructed and decorated to the boat.

The pronunciation "*la-aung*" suggested the meaning of "*Shin-ma-le*" It should be *Shin-ma Hle* ရှင်မာလှေ the Boat of our Lady. In Karen my informant said they called it *K'li kwe-gan*, and *K'li* I believe means boat. He himself however interpreted the Burmese as *Shin hma laik*, or *Shin-ma Laik*, because the rowers were supposed to follow the *Shin*.—ရိုက်သင့်

The whole matter reminded me of the elaborate bonmagyi festivals in Upper Burma where they make images of all the implements of cultivation, little clay plows and carts and cart wheels, and picks and cattle. The characteristic features of the present ceremony are the boat, the invitation of friends, the abstention of the pongyis, the exclusion of meat, and the most remarkable of all perhaps, the tradition that the ceremony should be triennial. Obviously there is much that has yet to be explained.

J. S. F.

THE BEGINNINGS OF BUDDHIST ART AND OTHER ESSAYS IN INDIAN AND CENTRAL-ASIAN ARCHAEOLOGY.

By M. A. Foucher,

Translated by L. A. Thomas and F. W. Thomas.

Paris, 1917.

The 'other essays' included in this selection of M. Foucher's works on Asian Archaeology are the Representations of Jātakas on the Bas-reliefs

of Barhut, the Eastern Gate of the Sanchi Stūpa, The Greek Origin of the Image of Buddha, the Tutelary Pair in Gaul and in India, The Great Miracle at Srāvasti, The Six-tusked Elephant, Buddhist Art in Java, and the Buddhist Madonna. We are indebted to the English translators for giving us an easy access to the most important works of M. Foucher, who is admittedly the leading authority on the subject. The volume is admirably and copiously illustrated and thus has gained much in value. It is difficult to say which article appeals to us most, such is the widespread interest of the book. Perhaps the 'highly ingenious and probable hypothesis' about the origins of Buddhist Art will strike the reader as being of unique value, the magic key by means of which M. Foucher has unlocked the secret wonders of Archaeology. At once we see the relation between the Greeks and the Indians, their respective standpoints to Art, what each owed to the other. The 'Tutelary Pair' and the 'Buddhist Madonna' are examples of the growing importance of Asian Archaeology that concerns itself with ancient Gaul on the one hand and the images of China and Japan on the other. It is difficult to say much of a work that bears the mark of genius beyond giving merited praise. In M. Foucher's hands the materials of Archaeology become endowed with a new spirit, that makes them as interesting as the pictures of a famous artist. One peculiarity in the method adopted by M. Foucher is the checking of texts by images. This is well illustrated in the 'Six-tusked Elephant,' which shows how late the Jātaka Prose commentary is compared with the stanzas. M. Foucher, by the way, prefers the 'Six-tusked Elephant' to the 'elephant with six-rayed tusks,' which is the rendering current in Burma. Artists will be grateful to M. Foucher for his article on the Borobudur at Java. It is worthy of note that M. Foucher speaks of a certain disappointment at his first view of the Temple. 'The Great Miracle at Srāvasti' is a good example of the author's penetrating insight and balanced judgment.

—Editor.

BURMESE NOVELS.

10.—*Sein Gale Wuttu, Part I.* By U Kyi, Zambu Kyetthaye Press, Rangoon 1905.

Another Novel of the same immoral type as *Maung Hmaing* by the same author in a less animated style.

—Editor.

11.—*The Wonderful, Part I.* By Saya Dwe. Burma Buddhasasana Pyu Press, Rangoon 1910.

A Novel with a misleading title. The author has not learnt the subtle art of novel-writing and presents the materials of a good novel—impersonations, elopements, robberies, murders,—in the shape of a 'wonderful' tale. The hero has all the qualifications of an adventurer, coupled with the graces of a lover. A great merit of the book is the purity of diction, which forms its principal charm.

—Editor.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY : ORDINARY MEETING.

THE BIRTH FEAST OF THE MONS.

A meeting of the Burma Research Society was held at Rangoon College on Friday evening, the 29th August 1919, when Professor Luce read a paper by Mr. R. Halliday on "The Birth Feast of Mons." Mr. M. Hunter, C.I.E., presided over a small attendance. Mr. Halliday came to Burma from England some years ago and after working for sometime at Ye and elsewhere passed into Siam, where he is now continuing his activities. The paper, which is published in the present *Journal* relates what Mr. Halliday saw at a birth feast in a Mon village in Siam. The main features were the predominance of the midwife as officiating the purification of the father by having water poured over his hands (which held the handle of a *dah*, the point being struck into the ground) and the presentation of gifts on behalf of the children. Twelve children in all were bathed, three being of the same family. The invocations made with the presentation of the gifts were seven in number; and the wishes expressed were for every kind of prosperity for the infant and for the avoidance of evil influence from his other life. During the ceremony the midwife supplied her needs in the matter of betel chewing from the trays placed before her. Hair was cut from each child's head. The mother's function was apparently limited to holding the tray with the cosmetics and perfume for anointing the child. A feast in the parent's house followed the ceremonial bathing which somewhat resembled the Burmese festival မွေးနေ့.

Among the gods invoked was *Srī Candi*, whom Professor Maung Tin believed to be a Chinese deity, the Chinese having penetrated well into Burma and influenced the local religious tradition. Other internal evidence suggested strong Brahminical influence.

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The Indian Antiquary—a journal of Oriental Research, January to July 1919, and Index to Vol. XLVI—1917.

Journal Asiatique recueil de mémoires et de notices relatifs aux Études orientales, Tome XII—No. 3, November-Décembre 1918.

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Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, for 1918-19.

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Intercourse Between Burma and Siam, by Luang Phraison Salarak (Reprinted from The Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XIII, Part I.)

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W.C.
W.C.

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